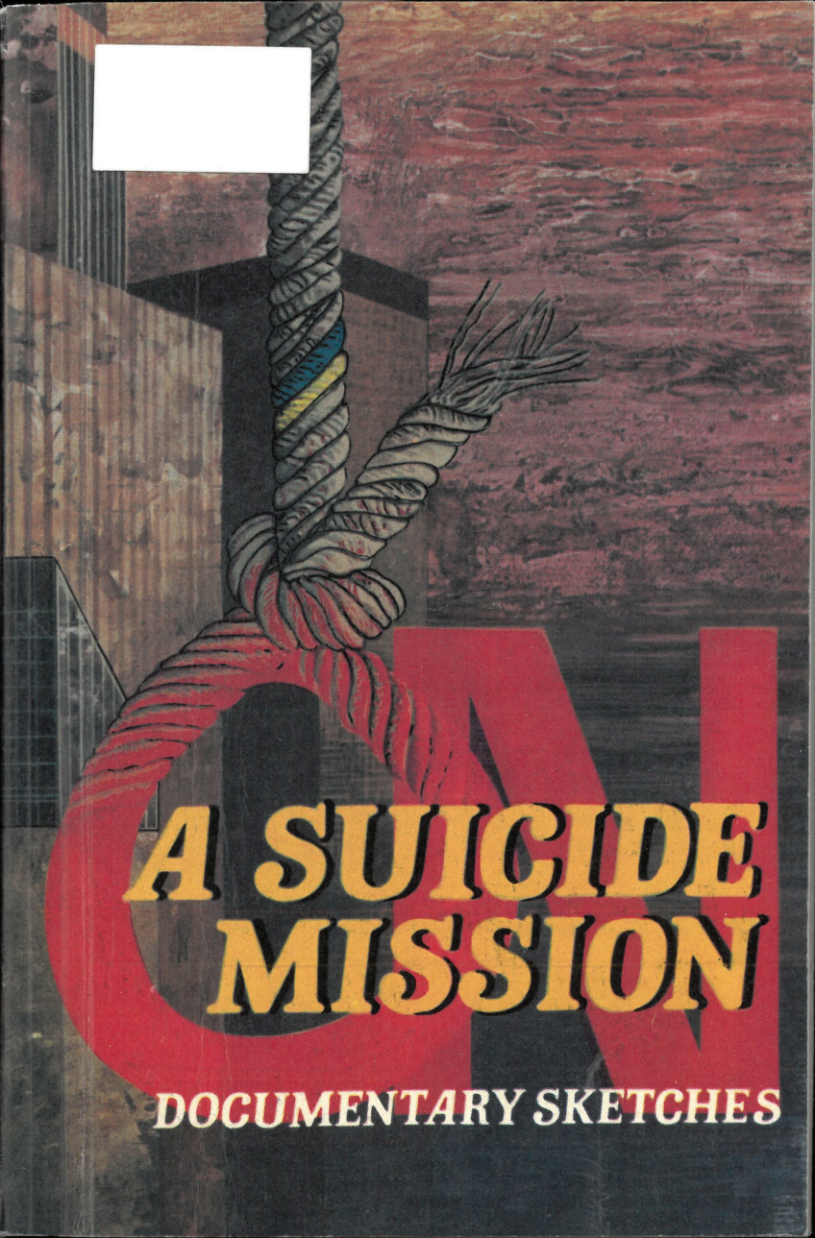
A SUICIDE MISSION
DOCUMENTARY SKETCHES

ON A SUICIDE MISSION

DOCUMENTARY SKETCHES

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PREFACE

In the four decades that have elapsed since the fateful day of August 6, 1945 when the U.S.A. dropped an A-bomb on Hiroshima, the world nuclear powers have stockpiled about 60,000 nuclear and atomic bombs and warheads whose combined explosive strength equals 20 billion tons of TNT. Nuclear weaponry in stock today is sufficient to destroy every living thing on earth 20 times over directly in the explosions without taking into consideration the terrible consequences of radiation, fallouts, "nuclear winter," etc. So, there will be no winners in a full-scale nuclear confrontation, and very possibly, all forms of biological life will be destroyed on the planet.

The Soviet Union, its government are aware of this. That is why the U.S.S.R. is so consistent in trying to persuade other nuclear powers that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence, to radical reduction and consequent elimination of enormous stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. Political leaders of the West must face the realities of the nuclear age, and act accordingly; they must change their approach to issues of foreign policy and stop pushing the world ever closer to the brink of nuclear disaster.

The Soviet Union has pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing which lasted for many months. All the progressively-minded people in the world, all sober-minded politicians have endorsed the program of eliminating all kinds of weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000 which has been put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Humanism and historical optimism which are characteristic features of the socialist way of life, induce us to spare no effort in achieving this noble goal.

The approach to this issue at top levels of some capitalist countries, the United States in particular, is diametrically opposite. The neo-globalist tendencies finding their realization in "the Reagan Doctrine"; plans of establishing U.S. world supremacy promulgated by the leaders of "the conservative wave" that has swept the United States; arms build-up; extension of the arms race into space — these are the main obstacles on the road that leads away from global self-destruction. A number of U.S. political moves in recent years: the invasion of Grenada, bombing raids in Libya, the undeclared war against Nicaragua and Afghanistan — bear witness to the fact that in pursuit of profits and establishing U.S. dominance in the world, the financial oligarchy will not stop short of any crime. The U.S.A. and its allies are making every effort to slow down the process in the relaxation of tension, working to bring into effect the SDI program.

This policy is not only absurd in itself, it is

extremely dangerous too. It can find support only among people totally obsessed by anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda, by jingoistic demagogy. The decreasing educational standards can also play a role here. In the U.S.A., for example, the country which is trying to impose its ideology, its way of life upon the world, there are 23 million illiterate people and about 20 million semi-literate. It is so easy to convince an ignoramus that he and his race are "the best" and "the strongest."

The ruling circles of certain NATO countries recruit supporters of this disastrous political course from counterrevolutionary immigration that have settled down in the West. This book deals with one such "battalion on a suicide mission" — namely the Western organizations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who, marching as they are into oblivion, blinded by their anti-Sovietism, are constantly calling for a nuclear crusade against all those who refuse to follow the course of Washington's warmongering.

No matter what "arguments" the present-day followers of neo-globalism put forward together with their nationalistic supporters and other extremists, there is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence which has always been promoted by the Soviet Union. It is the only chance for *Homo Sapiens* to survive.

MESSIANIC PRETENSIONS

The aggressively-minded set within the United States, together with various brands of extreme-right ogranizations, including those of the nationalistic kind, never slacken their efforts in fomenting subversion with the ultimate view of establishing U.S. supremacy over the vastest possible regions of the world. The entire system of international relations became the object of such subversive activities in the early 1980s, while the tendency toward strengthening the principles of equality in relations between the big and small nations had become clearly pronounced, much to the disquiet of the reactionaries. The turn in world events, with the imperialist bullying markedly losing its effectiveness, makes them uneasy.

For all practical purposes, the political philosophy of the developed Western nations aims at preserving and consolidating the foundation of the exploitative system. The means used include ideological and propagandistic pressure to preserve the dominating position of American monopolistic capital, to continue subversive and provocative activities directed against the socialist-community countries, against the international communist and workers' movement, and against the national liberation movements. Certain individuals from U.S. ruling quarters, and their nationalistic myrmidons — incidentally, the latter just love to advertise their activities as "fighting for freedom" — unequivocally

demonstrate their animosity towards the people fighting for democracy, social progress, national liberation and state sovereignty. One of the major means in besmirching and discrediting this struggle is the notorious myth of a "Soviet threat." Attempts are made to present this liberation struggle not as an objective phenomenon but as "a result of Moscow's instigation."

Propagandistic concoctions of "Soviet expansionism," "Soviets-strive-for-world-supremacy" kind are purposefully designed to mislead the U.S. and world community, to distract them from seeing who the real expansionists are. But as the slanderers lack the facts to substantiate their inventions, they inadvertently, time and again, give the lie to their preposterous stories about the "Soviet threat." Ukrainian bourgeois nationalistic publications, for example, harp on the necessity for the United States to continue building up armaments of all kinds, to be ready to use arms at any given moment and in any part of the world in order to defend "the strategically important regions against the Soviet threat."

The true intent of the myth about a "Soviet threat" can be inferred from some of the statements made by Richard Pipes, a Harvard University professor, in his book *Survival Is Not Enough.* He wrote that the U.S. Navy must dominate the oceans, that the U.S. Air Force must be supreme in the skies, that the United States must develop unrivaled capabilities in space, that U.S. radio and TV transmittters must step up their global broadcasting and intensify

their propaganda against socialist states and the socialist way of life.

Using anti-Sovietism as a standard item, official U.S. propaganda and the propagandistic choir of the bourgeois nationalists are trying to justify Washington's neo-globalist strategies and big capital's drive to open up new markets in the developing countries. The loss of a firm foothold in the Third World countries' economies would spell a loss for Big Business. Richard Pipes cautions that a loss of vitally important sources of raw materials, power resources, on the whole, would weaken its influence in the countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. This is the hard reality that hides behind the propagandistic smokescreen.

The reactionary, anti-democratic nature of U.S. neo-globalist strategies is evident enough. Ch. Kegley and Eu. Wittkopf, American journalists, frankly admit that the champions of neo-globalism from the banks of the Potomac River want "to restore America's missionary role..., to project American power abroad, demonstrating the nation's resolve to retain its global influence and to tighten its grip on global developments."

As far as Ukrainian nationalists are concerned, they do not find even such reactionary and far-reaching neo-globalist ambitions "cardinal enough." The Melnyk-faction Paris-based newspaper *Ukrayinske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) called the consent of the White House for President Ronald Reagan to meet Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva "a retreat." "The courageous course of U.S. politics," wrote the paper, "has turned out to be short-lived. The

Western world, including the United States, has again been inundated with illusory hopes for detente." It is any relaxation of tensions, any normalization of international relations that the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) people dread most. One of the Bandera-faction leaders, Yaroslav Stetsko, shortly before his death, said in his cable to Vice-President George Bush to comment on the summit meeting, that the policy of detente always leads to capitulation or to world war.

It is difficult to call such statements anything but absurd; but absurd logic is something that has been a characteristic feature of Ukrainian nationalists in all times. One could say it is their business as to what kind of logic they use, but the thing is that they make their absurdities public and present them as quite acceptable.

Naturally enough, after the admission of the real intentions of the neo-globalist policies is made, they have to be explained and justified. Practically the entire arsenal of subversion available to U.S. imperialism is made subservient to this purpose, subversion against the national liberation movements included. Anti-Communism, and anti-Sovietism that lies in its core, is always a ready weapon here. "Nearly every international development faced by the Reagan administration has been viewed through the distorting prism of anti-Communist ideology. Each event... whether it has been insurrection by the left against their oppressors or rightist terrorism by nationalists..., the interpretation is the same: Communism is responsible," wrote the aforementioned Ch. Kegley and

Eu. Wittkopf. Anti-Sovietism has been the core in the attempts to cover up the real nature, genesis and development of regional conflicts, and the sources of events connected with the aggravation of international tensions.

One of the ways of whitewashing U.S. neo-globalist policies is juggling with facts. Even when it is evident to the whole world that the blame for aggravation of tension in this or that part of the world lies totally with the West, the U.S. and NATO propaganda blames the Soviet Union, its Communist Party. Subversive anti-Soviet propaganda has continuously been trying to put the policies of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. towards the developing countries on the same level. Recently, a new note has been added to this. The United States is propagandistically claimed to be "the champion of peaceful solutions to conflicts," and the U.S.S.R. is described as "an advocate of military actions." Alexander Haig, former U.S. Secretary of State, now employed at the Rand Corporation, claimed that the difference between the United States and the Soviet Union concerned the very principles of international action; Washington believed in peaceful change and in contrast the Soviet policy sought to exploit aspirations for change in order to create conflict justifying the use of force and even invasion.

The double standard employed by those who provide the ideological support of neo-globalism, is quite apparent. U.S. political scientists and historians provide enough material to illustrate the point. Speaking about the necessity to counteract "the Soviet interference," R. Schulzinger, a historian from Colorado State Uni-

versity, said that many Western political analysts proceeded entirely from the apologetic need to justify the U.S. foreign policy rather than from hard facts. The essence of such a course, the historian goes on to say, since 1898 (when the U.S. unleashed war against Spain) has been the struggle for "world supremacy in world politics" with the emphasis on war. The double-standards of those backing U.S. neo-globalist policies are revealed in other American journalistic writings. The *US News and World Report* wrote in its October 17, 1983 issue that for the last 150 years U.S. troops invaded countries of Latin America and the Caribbean more than sixty times to topple governments, to set up regimes favored by the U.S. and to defend the interests of U.S. business.

U.S. global subversive activities against all forces of progress and democracy is especially directed at the countries with a socialist orientation. Here the class nature of neo-globalism clearly shows up. The purpose is to preserve or restore capitalism through ideological means in the developing countries. Raul Castro, the Cuban politician, commenting on this, said that attempts were made to slow down or frustrate economic plans, to divert the developing countries from the right course in building their culture and education. Whenever U.S.-backed puppet regimes are threatened, ideological subversion gets down to active work along the four major lines, described in some detail by British political scientist J. McMahan:

1). Preservation of pro-American regimes. In the words of Lewellyn D. Howell, American University, Washington: "We are looking over

shoulder trying to stop change..., and generally trying to maintain the whole international structure... This is clearly a consequence of Number-One thinking."

2). Removal of regimes, not "loyal" to U.S. interests, and setting up tractable regimes (along the lines of Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador). George Shultz, in his address to Congress, called "strengthening U.S. friends" the most important task facing Washington; the notorious Jean Kirkpatrick, one-time U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, in her comment on this statement, said that without such strengthening, the territories of the Third World countries would be used "for the protection of Soviet military power in the hemisphere." (It could be noted here that such statements and their practical actions, very well fit the pattern set by big capital.) A book, published in Havana and titled *Informe Rockefeller*, quotes a tycoon saying that unless something is done about it, revolutionary change might lead to God knows where. As is well known, fear does not help one to think clearly, and the one who has the arms of mass destruction in his hands and is overwhelmed with fear, can do a lot of harm.

3). Doing everything possible to have Third World countries develop according to the U.S. model; creating such conditions which would lead to failure of any other alternative models of economic development, specifically those that exclude exploitation of man by man; E. Gallano, political scientist from Uruguay, remarked on this with some sarcasm: "Liberty for business, liberty for prices, liberty for trade: one

throws the people into prison so that business remains free." To help achieve these ends, "the Soviet Union should be portrayed in the worst possible light," writes J. McMahan.

4). Use of dictatorial regimes, friendly to the U.S., in attempts to topple governments in countries that have embarked on the road of progressive change, including those situated in parts of the world very distant from the U.S. territory, and where U.S. interests are not very significant. In this case too, one clearly discerns attitudes in the spirit of the principle of "superpowers' concerns." Its followers regard almost everything that is happening in world politics in the light of U.S.-Soviet rivalry. The most reactionary positions in this matter are, without doubt, occupied by the U.S. rightists who feel quite at home in Washington government quarters. The papers of the Committee on the Present Danger, published in Washington ("Alerting America"), claim that Soviet expansionism threatens to alter the balance of power upon which the cause of liberty in the world so heavily depends; if we (the U.S.) find the ability to see the world as it really is and if we find new strength, will and self-assuredness, we'll find enough resources and friends to tackle this threat. On the other hand, pulling chestnuts out of the fire for the U.S. with its friends' hands allows the United States, as George Shultz suggests, to stay clear of any involvement in arising conflicts. That is why, according to the U.S. Secretary of State, the problem lies in providing aid to friends rather than directly using American military forces. Besides, in his view, such military aid is used

throughout the world as a means of preventing conflicts.

Each item on J. McMahan's list of measures designed to maintain U.S. hegemonic aspirations can be by right regarded as a constituent part of neo-globalism. Readiness to engage in open interference, including the direct use of force, into the internal affairs of the developing countries, proceeds from the disregard of the international code of law, and for the realities of today's world. At the bottom of this, one can easily spot the anti-Sovietism through which world events are viewed, and which distorts them beyond recognition. To call such policies "regional" as it is often done in the U.S.A., is to use euphemism in describing one of the directions of the Washington's hegemonic course.

Another thing becomes apparent here. In their efforts to provide propagandistic justification for U.S. imperialistic policies, and in their support of terrorist elements throughout the world, U.S. federal backers of such policies put themselves on one level with the most reactionary regimes, with all anti-democratic forces. The *Newsweek* magazine in its March 24, 1986 issue called Ronald Reagan a true friend of contras. Very significantly, the article quoted the president himself in its headline: "I'm a contra, too."

As has always been the case before, Ukrainian nationalists have offered their services as lackeys of reaction and imperialism, deriving comfortable support from U.S. rightists. These arch-reactionaries on Washington's payroll, use practically the same phraseology and express

the same ideas of neo-globalism as do rightist political scientists and politicians of the United States. To illustrate the point one can turn, say, to a large article, carried by the Bandera-faction newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohi* (The Path of Victory) in its February 10, 1985 issue entitled "International Life Forecasts for 1985." It expounds neo-globalist concepts whose essence has been clearly revealed by J. McMahan. Everything here is permeated with anti-Sovietism, and presented from the point of view of anti-Communism which does not permit the author to see the world as it really is. "Moscow will continue to be fishing in the troubled waters of the Middle East"; "the military strength of Moscow in Asia will continue to grow... Efforts of Moscow and Communist Vietnam to establish their rule over Southeast Asia will remain the main problem that the free world will face... North Korean politics are subservient to Moscow's interests"; in Africa, U.S. and NATO armed forces must "help forces of this continent be released from the pro-Marxist womb"; "Moscow and Cuba will continue to play their role of intermediaries in backing up their subversive acts"; Western Europe "must cut down trade with the Soviet Union"; "Moscow derives advantage" from all the problems that Spain, Greece, and other Western European countries have to face...

Quotations from the article could be continued but they would hardly add anything new. What strikes one immediately is that there is not a single word of truth in this piece of nationalistic writing. At best, it is no more than parroting the U.S. rightists who dream of

establishing U.S. supremacy in the world. The whole article is steeped in acute hatred for socialism, all forces of socialism and social justice. The essence becomes clear if one remembers that the nationalist leaders have been very vocal in praising the dictatorial regimes of Augusto Pinochet and Anastasio Somoza, of South African racists, of Afghan mujahedeens, responsible for the death of so many innocent people, of the repressive governments of El Salvador and Guatemala. It is those nationalists who went to pay their respects to Paraguayan President Alfredo Stroessner as well.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who portray themselves as "freedom fighters," disclose the true nature of their "liberty-oriented" politicking by their attitude towards all kinds of dictatorial and pro-fascist regimes, towards terrorist and anti-democratic groups. They were overjoyed to learn that Washington had again turned to using the modernized version of the notorious doctrine of "liberation" that had been worked out in the times of the Cold War.

As early as 1965, in his book *Alternative to Partition* (New York, 1965) Zbigniew Brzezinski suggested to the Washington political strategists to substitute John F. Dulles' doctrine for a policy of step-by-step erosion of regimes that have fallen out of favor with the United States. He wrote that the failure of the concept of liberation must not give the U.S. the passive role of a country just waiting for "the fall of socialism"; the United States must continue doing its best to cultivate evolutionary changes in socialist countries, pushing their societies in the desired direction from within.

At present, Western propaganda has again returned to the spirit of "liberation" that is being developed within the framework of the "fighting Communism" doctrine. Two dominant features can be delineated in the present-day doctrine of "liberation."

Firstly, if the Dulles version was designed to bring about the restoration of capitalism, mostly in the East European socialist countries, by any means available, including the use of military force, today there has been a definite shift towards its global application.

Secondly, a greater emphasis is placed on the use of the U.S. military might.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger presented this doctrine as a method of actively using the U.S. armed forces in solving regional problems, specifically when it concerned small nations. A certain correspondence with the former doctrine of "liberation" dating to the times of the Cold War can be seen also in the fact that a greater emphasis is placed on subversion against the developing countries, and on internal counterrevolution, including its possible use of armed struggle.

Ukrainian nationalists were quick to realize the advantages they could derive from this. Without any reservations whatsoever, they are offering their services to American bidders as in the past they had offered their services to the Nazis. They are pushing forward a project of setting up para-military units designed to conduct terrorist and subversive activities, with each such unit consisting of personnel from one particular ethnic backround, to be drafted from among those living in the West. The na-

tionalists welcomed the establishment of special units of commandos within the emergency deployment corps, drafted from immigrants. At the congress of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations *, held in London, November 21-24, 1985, under the chairmanship of Yaroslav Stetsko (incidentally a former Nazi intelligence and Gestapo agent), a decision was reached to urge the developed countries of the West, the United States in particular, "to combine the strategies of space defense with the strategies of liberation struggle."

It is worth noting here that the U.S. political doctrine of neo-globalism that was launched by Washington in the early eighties (it is sometimes referred to as the Reagan Doctrine) is in fact the third successive major American doctrine since the Vietnam war. The Nixon Doctrine was mainly an orientation towards regimes friendly to the U.S.A. The Carter Doctrine envisaged U.S. armed interference, if need be, with emergency deployment forces being the main tool.

The present-day supporters and those employing neo-globalist policies regard any moves against the countries where the danger of "Marxist influence" has been observed as justified. It is enough for someone in Washington's corridors of power to imagine such influencing taking place, with no facts to substantiate it, and the corresponding decision is made. The

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* *Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations* — a reactionary organization, uniting anti-Communist immigrants from Cuba, Poland, the U.S.S.R., Rumania, Nicaragua, Vietnam, and other socialist nations, created and run by Western intelligence services

action following is masked, in the words of Charles Krauthammer, as "support for democratic rebels," "self-defense, sanctioned by international law."

Terrorists and down-and-out criminals from the Somoza squads, Cuban gusanos, and their ilk are portrayed as "democratic opposition." The goals of neo-globalism justify using anyone, as long as he is anti-Communist. "Much can be said in defense of aid to the counterrevolutionaries, or 'contras.' They are not simply mercenaries... They are a genuine anti-Communist movement, and it is not absurd to call them freedom fighters," wrote Henry Grunwald, an American political scientist.

In this vast amount of loose talk about the necessity "to counteract Moscow's interference," "to preserve democracy," one can nevertheless discern some statements that throw light on the true intentions of Washington and its underlings. The ultimate goal is to strengthen the positions of U.S. big capital in various parts of the world. "The United States needs allies to help protect U.S. global interests," — saying this the *Foreign Policy* magazine inadvertently let the cat out of the bag. Groups of extreme-right of all shades and hues in the United States and elsewhere are the staunchest supporters of such policies.

The Ukrainian nationalists, sharing the militaristic fever with their masters, tirelessly issue calls for preparations to a "total war." In the meantime it would be worthwhile to use "the experience of Grenada," say, in Nicaragua, wrote Bandera-faction newspapers. Though on a small scale, but war nevertheless. OUN war

maniacs seem to be having problems sleeping when guns are silent. The nationalist leaders are evidently not satisfied with the way neo-globalism is being put into practice. One of the resolutions, for example, of the 3rd Congress of the Bandera-faction Organization of Liberation Front said that the United States and NATO were deliberately trying "to avoid nuclear war." The same resolution also said: "The Ukrainian Liberation Front condemns and rejects the policy of coexistence, detente, parity of forces."

U.S. efforts to get its NATO allies to pursue a policy of ensnaring the countries who have rid themselves of the colonial yoke with a new economic and political bondage, are eloquent enough in themselves. Sovietologists Keith A. Dann and William O. Staudemaier state frankly that "U.S. regional strategy should concentrate on preserving the integrity of the pro-Western states... The NATO allies need to recognize the financial and structural demands placed on the United States by its role as NATO executive agent... The United States is defending interests that are more crucial to the allies than to the United States; common sense dictates seeking support from those allies before undertaking actions that may threaten America's very survival." In other words, the authors suggest that in deciding the question of further Western economic and political domination in the formerly colonial countries, it is worth acting in concert, including the potential use of NATO forces. The authors believe that "to defend the vital interests" of the U.S.A. in Southeast Asia alone, "twelve naval battle

groups...; strategic mobility forces, both air and sea, should receive top priority."

Such statements are always accompanied by a full set of standard anti-Communist accusations, twisted facts, flimsy arguments, flagrant misinformation. Probably, it is believed that the more often these are repeated, the better chance to brainwash the population of both Western states, including Ukrainian communities there, and the developing countries, and thus make them accept the myth of a "Soviet threat." The Western information agencies' monopoly on disseminating political information in non-socialist nations comes as a handy tool for propagandistic purposes. Radio and TV broadcasts for foreign countries are also very actively used here.

The impact of the media on the contemporary mind is great indeed. It is estimated that over 500 million TV sets and about 1,300 million radio sets are in use daily throughout the world, and about 8,200 newspapers, with a circulation of 500 million copies daily reach their readers. According to the Western estimates, over a billion people judge world events on the basis of information processed and supplied by Associated Press. The United Press International, another U.S. news agency giant, supplies 90 countries with its materials. UNESCO statistics clearly indicate that 15 of the biggest Western news agencies control most of the news coverage in the non-socialist world.

The United States Information Agency plays a special role in the subversive activities of U.S. imperialism against the developing countries. Regardless of the recipient, of its infor-

mation, anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism have always been the agency's main concern. Theodor Sorensen, a senior mass media officer, wrote that "the USIA was born on the height of the Cold War. Most of today's senior officers were trained in Cold War combat. Consenquently, much of the old vocabulary of the Cold War — 'international Communism', 'Communist conspiracy,' 'Iron Curtain,' 'free world' — continues to be employed even when it is no longer applicable or persuasive."

The USIA, since its inception, has been working along the following major lines: justifying U.S. home and foreign policies, advertising the American way of life as a model for others to follow, and at the same time spreading anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, militantly nationalistic ideas and attitudes throughout the world. Thus, the economic assistance and moral support the Soviet Union is giving to the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation is qualified as "interference."

One does not have to go far to discover the reasons that make the neo-globalist politicians link this "Soviet threat" with the revolutionary processes in the world. The thing is that the 1970s and 1980s saw a further narrowing of the imperialist powers' spheres of influence. Imperialism suffered setback after setback. A good number of countries managed to extricate themselves from the grips of imperialist power: South Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Angola, Mosambique, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua. The military, political and economic strategies of the United States show an ever increasing interest in

the developing countries. From Africa alone, the United States imports 72 % of the cobalt it needs, 51 % of manganese, 43 % of antimony, and 100 % of diamonds. The prices for imported raw materials are low, but the prices for exported U.S. machinery and other goods are very high, and Washington's policy naturally aims to preserve such a state of affairs for good.

No wonder Western propaganda, including the nationalistic propaganda, is using the "Soviet threat" to cover up or justify neo-globalist policies, especially in the military, political and economic spheres. The stance taken by New Rightists is most revealing here (incidentally, Ukrainian nationalists regard and call New Rightists none other than "true Americans"). They claim that the Soviet Union wants "to build a Communist world" by using military means, and in pursuit of this goal, the U.S.S.R. is doing its best to undermine the might, influence and prestige of the U.S.A., the country which is, in the rightists' allegations, regarded by the Soviet leaders as the main target of attack.

Such an absurd and yet dangerous approach to world affairs is characteristic, for example, of the writings in the fifth edition of collected essays titled *American Defense Policy.* One of the authors, K. Waltz writes: "For the United States in the 1980s, only the Soviet Union poses a large-scale military threat to physical security." Nestor D. Sanchez, another author embracing the reactionary cause, says that in Latin America the Soviet Union "is abetting an assault on the security of this hemisphere more

dangerous than the postwar threat to Western Europe." This is what, Mr. Sanchez goes on to say, allowed Reagan to call the Soviet Union "the most aggressive empire the modern world has ever seen." Mr. Sanchez then tries ineffectively but insistently to substantiate this statement, putting forward preposterous arguments which in fact are nothing else than paraphrasing the much-loved absurdities of the extreme right. It is along these lines that he writes: "The U.S.S.R. is an expansionist power, imbibed with a mission to spread its system throughout the world by whatever means, including force; Cuba is an instrument of this Soviet expansion..., both of these Marxist countries are hostile to the United States and eager to undermine its influence and security."

Only purposeful ignorance of the realities of the world situation can account for the quoted allegations. It is well known that the U.S.S.R. always rejected the policies of expansionism, the "export of revolution," the threat or use of force. The Soviet leadership have always pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence, of peaceful economic competition of the two political systems.

Neo-globalist, or in fact neo-colonialist, ambitions of Washington are camouflaged with such propagandistic utterances as quoted above and which, incidentally, Ukrainian nationalists like to parrot. The nationalists, in their servile role, and faced with the absence of facts that could justify the policy of neo-globalism, also indulge in the old myth of anti-Sovietism. Anti-Communist inventions come and go, but anti-Sovietism, despite its absurd logic, has always

stayed on top of the list of ideological subversion. The old Goebbels's principle is employed here: the more a lie is repeated the better the chance of it being believed. Probably one of the most characteristic features of the propagators of this myth — one of the vilest concocted in the 20th century — is their attempts to ascribe to socialism things that are incompatible with its very nature, things that have nothing to do with the essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching dealing with society, things that are contrary to the ideas of workers' socialist internationalism. It does not take much effort to also see attempts to justify the political course of aggression and terrorism that imperialism has adopted against the developing nations.

Political strategists from the imperialist, neoglobalist camp rely upon psychological warfare very much. It is designed, to a great extent, to provide the necessary ideological support for the U.S. political course aimed at bringing about U.S. world supremacy, and at shaping the world in the American way. In the words of Secretary of State George Schultz: "The United States is not just an onlooker, however. We are participants and we are engaged. America is again in a position to have a major influence over the direction of events. We have a duty to help shape the trends, as they evolve, in accordance with our ideals and interests, to help construct a new pattern of international stability."

Thus, on the one hand there is a lot of loose talk about the mythical "Soviet threat," and on the other — a positive statement from a high-ranking American official about U.S. intentions

to save the world by gaining supremacy over it. According to him, the configuration of the existent borders can still be revised, the socialist foundation of the Eastern European countries can still be eroded. (By the way, similar views are frequently expressed by the Ukrainian nationalist press.) The Secretary of State said that socialism was something that "the United States has never recognized as legitimate or permanent." One can easily detect a threat in these words, and not mythical but quite real.

As far as the countries of Southeast Asia and the Pacific are concerned, priorities here, according to neo-globalist thinking, are: strengthening U.S. economic positions; thrusting a pro-American model of economic development on them, and, of course, the removal of the "Soviet threat." Here again we encounter castles built in the air rather than sensible assessment of the situation.

In Latin America, Washington's main line is to back up the dictatorial and pro-American regimes, and to bring down any governments that fall out of favor with U.S. reaction.

What George Schultz had to say about Africa may seem rather cynical: "The United States has a key role to play here." It hardly calls for any further commentary.

Defining the essence of U.S. neo-globalism, George Schultz, in conclusion, went as far as to say: "We have learned that to maintain peace and preserve freedom (freedom to exploit? — *Authors*), we have to be strong, and more than that, we have to be willing to use our strength."

These statements alone, coming as they do from the head of the State Department, are sufficient enough to give a clear picture of how provocatively the "Soviet threat" is used to camouflage and justify the U.S. neo-globalist course. But the truth will emerge anyway. And the truth is that Washington continues its efforts to make other countries accept the role of U.S. puppets.

Hopes that things will work out the American way are illusory, of course. But such illusions are fraught with danger. Ideological background, supporting American messianic ambitions also suits military and political purposes of American imperialism. Thus, in practical terms, this means complete disregard of the interests of states that have recently attained their sovereignty.

The analysis of facts unequivocally shows that Western propaganda, subversive Western radio stations, nationalistic publications are designed to provide ideological support for the geopolitical ambitions of the U.S. reaction, at the same time giving them at least a measure of respectability. Some of the public statements made in the West inadvertently reveal that the alleged "Soviet threat" to Third World countries is no more than another ideological act of provocation.

Edward L. Warner, Princeton University professor, has the following to say on this matter: "Finally, in geopolitical terms, a perspective based on concrete American interests rather than purely mechanistic anti-Communist or anti-Soviet motivations, leads to the identification of dominant American interests." This

statement is followed by reflections concerning the nature of these interests, and the spirit of it all, on the one hand, reminds one very much of statements made by George Schultz quoted earlier, and on the other — those of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

According to Edward L. Warner, the United States has no problems as far as North America is concerned as "there are no strong rivals there." Such attitudes fit the neo-globalist doctrine well, and in this case, they are directed against the interests of the Canadian people, as one can discern here the American preference for a weak Canada.

U.S. neo-globalism stands out in all its starkness in relation to the countries of Central America and the Caribbean. The very phraseology employed is suggestive: "the sphere of vital interests," "the southern defense line," and so forth. "The stability of Central America is of vital interest to the United States; and its instability threatens our security," writes John R. Silber, President of Boston University. Thus, even at ground level preparations for conducting psychological warfare, pro-imperialist, anti-democratic features can easily be detected though they are demagogically camouflaged by statements about "the democratic character" of U.S. open interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama, and other countries regarded by the United States as their vassal states. Any attempt on the part of these countries to act independently are immediately castigated as "unfriendly acts of anti-Americanism" that are allegedly instigated by the Cubans. "Struggle with Cu-

ban-Soviet expansionism" is the faulty premise from which the ideological attitudes towards the countries of this region are derived. According to Mr. Warner, the main task of the United States is to contain "Communist expansionism."

Calls to deal with the "Soviet threat" are made to justify U.S. neo-globalist policies in Latin America. It is hardly surprising to discover that the phraseology of ideological subversion is identical to that of Washington's top politicians. Ronald Reagan, in his speech on December 10, 1984, spoke extensively about the advisibility for Latin America to develop democracy in line with the American model, about the role of the United States in the development of the countries situated south of the U.S.A., and of course, about the "Soviet threat."

Ukrainian nationalists, eager to contribute, regularly extol the "virtues of democracy" in El Salvador and Paraguay. Brandishing the name of the American people, they issue calls to the U.S. government to step up the expansionist drives, to deal sternly with national liberation movements. They do not bother to camouflage their ill intentions toward the developing countries either. They, in their excessive zeal to parrot the U.S. political "hawks," go as far as to say that "America by its very nature is destined to be the policeman of the world. And there is nothing offensive in this as it is how it should be: such is the honorable role America must play."

When, shortly before the Soviet-American summit in Geneva in 1985, Washington began to issue occasional statements (further developments showed that these statements were far

from sincere, used only to suit the moment) to the effect that the U.S.A. was interested in stopping the arms race and resolving regional conflicts by peaceful means, it set the nationalists from the anti-Soviet camp worrying. Their anxiety grew in the days and months following the Geneva summit. "The West keeps repeating its old mistakes, nourishing its old illusions as to the normalization of relations with Moscow, and has plunged again into the endless talks, most of them fruitless, dealing with disarmament issues. Reagan's truly realistic policy has turned out to be a short-lived episode," said the Bandera-faction *Shlyakh Peremohi* bitterly in its February 2, 1986 issue.

Thus, great-power chauvinism, open interference in the internal affairs of other countries is the best type of political strategy for the nationalists. Besides, the nationalist leaders have never changed their stance of fostering enmities between nations; they continue to conduct propaganda of an openly racist nature. Hiding behind the loose talk about "patriotism," "democracy," they go out of their way to foster among the rank-and-file members of nationalistic factions great animosity towards the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* (Freedom), published in New Jersey, in its editorial a few years back, called upon the law-enforcement agencies of the U.S.A. to mete out severe punishments to Black students for demanding equal rights with Whites. The nationalist leaders call the possibility for the Black population of South Africa "to work at factories and

farms of the Whites" the greatest boon the Blacks can hope for.

It is appropriate to mention here that the nationalistic press are practically unanimous in claiming that the best political set-up for the Ukraine would be a "democracy à la Pinochet." Using every possible occasion, they express their dissatisfaction with the fact that "racist, fascist dictatorships, governments of South Africa, Chile..." are condemned by the UN Assembly.

The real rather than declared meaning of "liberty-oriented" statements coming from the Ukrainian nationalists was clearly revealed in their position regarding the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Nationalistic press and other publications call those who treated the local population in a manner similar to that of the Nazis during WWII, the "patriotic and heroic generation." They are cited as an example to be imitated by the present-day American youth, including Americans of Ukrainian descent, who, much to the nationalists' regret "do not want to die for an extra barrel of oil" (*Meta* (Goal), published in Munich, November, 1981). Nice ideals are offered to the Americans by the nationalists!

The racists among the Ukrainian nationalists demonstrate their mysanthropic nature by calling the Spanish-speaking and other immigrants fleeing from the misery in their native countries and coming to the U.S.A. in search of "happiness" — "the vermin." Speaking of arrivals from South America and Asia, Ukrainian nationalists insist that these ethnics "are not of nation-building stock, and are not of credit

for America..." "Is there anyone who is responsible for checking the background of these mendicants who in their thousands find their way into the country by hook or by crook?" writes an overly-zealous patriotic nationalist writer. The nationalists from among those following in the footsteps of Senator McCarthy, insist that there are far too many unreliable coloreds in the U.S. armed forces, blame the immigrants for "hundreds of thousands of demonstrators marching through the streets of U.S. towns" [*Ukrayinski Visti* (Ukrainian News), Detroit, May 2, 1982].

Ukrainian nationalist extremists have been traditionally "condemning" national liberation movements but at the same time speaking out in support of the military-fascist dictatorships in some Latin American countries, Israeli Zionists and their ilk. The nationalists even tried to justify the terrible crimes committed by Zionist soldiers in the occupied areas of Lebanon, including the brutal massacres of peaceful Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila, describing them in terms of "military expediency." "This is a brutal war," wrote the Paris-based *Ukrayinske Slovo*, in its issue of September 4, 1982, about Israel's aggression in Lebanon. "But every war is brutal. But life itself, the very history of Israel had demonstrated that without military actions Israel as a state would not have been able to exist." Contrary to the well-established facts, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists insist that Israel is hardly to blame for the massacres in Lebanon. The nationalists praise the "organizational skills," "abilities to conduct warfare," "ideological stamina and self-denial"

of the Zionist murderers who are presented as an example to follow.

It is not surprising that the U.S. brutal intrusion in Grenada is hailed by the nationalist pharisees as "a great achievement." The OUN nationalists call the occupation of this Caribbean island "liberation brought about by the U.S.A."; "America under the presidency of Ronald Reagan has at last shown the way it understands 'the policy of strength'" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, November 6, 1983); "The present-day ...international law is the law of strength," *Shlyakh Peremohi* said in its issue of November 13, 1983.

There are no basic distinctions in the ways anti-Soviet propagandists treat the matters in question. All of them boil down to undisguised apology of the real — not proclaimed — policies of great-power chauvinism pursued by the Reagan administration. H. Rositzke, a former influential CIA official, described in unequivocal and rather precise terms the position of the diehards predominant among U.S. politicians and obsessed with the idée fixe that the Russians continue to pursue their long-range program of achieving world supremacy, and with this aim in view they are prepared to use forceful means; and that in Moscow's view, such dominance can be gained only through curbing the U.S. prestige and influence.

Official public speeches by U.S. top politicians will throw additional light on the matter. "America is again in a position to have a major influence over the trend of events — and America's additional goals and values have not changed. Our duty must be to help shape the

evolving trends in accordance with our ideals and interests," said George Schultz, addressing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 31, 1985.

The Ukrainian nationalists, moving in the political wake of Washington, regard the world in the manner very similar to the one expressed above. They choose to ignore the realities of the present-day world. Waving their empty "liberation cause" around, they quite adequately demonstrate their entire subservience to the ruling classes, as their role, to a large extent, is limited to the search of new propagandistic ways to support the global ambitions of Big Business, multinational corporations in the first place.

A question may arise: are there any bourgeois ideologists who view the situation in more realistic terms? S. Lipset, an American political scientist, inadvertently provides an answer. He writes that neo-conservatives consist mostly of liberals and social-democrats who see a threat in Communism; they have a lot in common with conservatives in military matters and defense policy, and also in matters concerning human rights.

The attempt to work out the political concept of, and then provide the support for the aggressive policy usually referred to in the U.S.A. as "New Nationalism," constitutes the common ground for most bourgeois political ideologists. Werner Link, an American political scientist, describes the main features of "New Nationalism" in the following way: "New Nationalism is characterized, therefore, by the manner in which the governments of Western industrial-

ized countries give top priorities to national objectives and processes putting them before foreign relations and international commitments." And "New Nationalism" is invariably depicted as a progressive trend. "Contrary to classical nationalism, which is usually of an aggressive nature, the policy adopted by New Nationalism tends to be rather defensive and inward-looking in character. Self-satisfaction and the desire to enjoy the fruits of industrial progress have replaced nationalistic emotions. Apparently the device of New Nationalism is exclusiveness rather than expansion."

James Caporaso, another American political writer, tries to exalt "New Nationalism" from the same premises. He narrows this ideological trend to "movement from international to domestic preoccupations, from warfare to welfare, from the bellicose to the pacific" (*The New Nationalism. Implications for Transatlantic Relations.* New York.). A few lines further he says something that by implication negates the ideas expressed earlier. "This does not necessarily mean that the means of achieving them are also domestic." This statement hardly leaves any doubt as to the neo-globalist, aggressive character of "New Nationalism" trends.

As far as the Ukrainian nationalists are concerned, new impetus to their militaristic ambitions was given by Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. They were overjoyed to have such a tremendously vast new range opened for their militaristic ravings. They seized the occasion to pronounce Star Wars another miraculous boost to their "liberation cause." The latest Congress of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations said

that "the strategy of defense in space should be coupled with the strategy of the liberation struggle." Their meaning of "liberation" has been explained elsewhere.

Thus, we observe that the nationalist reactionaries dutifully follow all the trends developed in Washington's official quarters. On the one hand, they demagogically proclaim their adherence to the cause of peace, and at the same time hail the U.S. invasion of Grenada, praise the bombing raid on Libya, acclaim militarization of peace, approve of the use of military force as a means for solving all international problems.

The Ukrainian nationalists, as a matter of fact, have never tried to hide their negative attitude towards the policy of peaceful coexistence, towards the course of negotiations and constructive agreements. Another thing is clear as well. They have attacked the Soviet-U.S. summits of the seventies, the agreements regulating U.S.-Soviet relations, the Agreement on Anti-Missile Defense System, SALT-1 and SALT-2, the Geneva negotiations. This but merely reiterates more frankly and despicably the war-bent utterings of the most reactionary elements in the U.S. administration and Congress. Indeed, it is only one of the ways whereby the nationalists make their services available to the most reactionary forces in the West.

There is yet another thing that comes to the fore. There is practically no one among the supporters of neo-globalism who would come up with concrete and peaceful proposals to help solve the regional problems, since these supporters proceed from the faulty premises of anti-

Communism. They cannot act otherwise as all of their actions are aimed at defending the interests of a social system that has been doomed by history; within the framework of this system man can "by legal right" exploit another man, humiliate his human dignity, deny him his human rights. By their very nature they are "programmed" to stand against the objective trends of social development, against the very future of society. Herein lies the reason why the policy of neo-globalism is doomed, as doomed are those who support and justify it.

The attempts to depict the Soviet Union as "a source of tension" in the world have no foundation in reality. Such attempts are nothing but camouflage put up in order to substantiate the right for the United States to interfere whenever and wherever it sees fit. In his speech of November 28, 1984, the U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger pointed out six reasons which, from his point of view, justify the use of force by the U.S.A. abroad in dealing with national liberation movements.

Firstly, he said, in deciding whether to use force it should be decided "how much it is vital to our national interests" (naturally, the interests of the developing countries do not enter into the Secretary's consideration). Secondly, it is necessary to have "the clear intention of winning." Thirdly, the guidelines should be chosen in accordance with "well-defined political and military interests" (of U.S. imperialism, of course — *Authors*). Fourthly, Mr. Weinberger considers it important to assess and reassess "the size, composition and disposition of the forces involved" in a conflict. Fifthly, it is nec-

essary "to recognize that the use of U.S. troops was a last resort" (in other cases the U.S. Secretary of Defense considers it to be more expedient to use military intelligence and the CIA to attain the desired goals, and whatever opportunities that the puppet regimes could offer). And sixthly, "there must be some reasonable assurance we will have the support of the American people and their elected representatives in Congress." In other words, Mr. Weinberger suggests to have the American people subjected to "ideological treatment" prior to the action to be undertaken.

Political propaganda of the United States, aimed at foreign countries, is the main means of spreading the allegation that it is the Soviet Union that is responsible for starting and fanning the regional conflicts. Such propaganda is meant to be a handy tool in popularizing the ideas of neo-globalism, and spreading them among wide sections of the world community. The main thing here, wrote Richard Nixon, 37th President of the U.S.A. in his book *Seis Crisis*, recently published in Barcelona, is to realize that the most powerful economic organization, the smoothest-functioning governmental organization will fail if the Americans are not united and inspired by one great idea which must become a rallying battle cry in the overpowering offensive directed at winning the minds, hearts and souls of people.

In the mass of propagandistic ideas, which are being generated by specialists in anti-Sovietism, a batch of major ideas can be singled out and among the latter the two most important are considered to be the following:

— discrediting the economy of socialism in the eyes of the Western and Third World communities; attempts should be made to prove that socialist society is impeding rather than helping progress. Attempts are made to convince the Third World countries that the important thing for them is to gain access to the sophisticated Western technology and financial sources of credit, rather than worry about which social-economic system to choose; when a Third World country chooses a socialist way of development, direct or indirect measures are suggested to restore the system of exploitation there;

— sullying the Soviet policy towards the developing countries; attempts should be made to portray this policy, after suitable twisting of facts, as "expansionist," "directed at the export of revolution, and at spreading socialism by force." Socialist society is described as basically hostile to democratic aspirations of people, denying them their human rights. Sovietologists, and Ukrainologists of all varieties, nationalists "fighting for the cause of liberation" claim that socialist states cannot be friends of the developing countries because of their alleged "expansionist" policies. Western propaganda also harps on the tune of socialism being unacceptable for the Third World countries — or most of them — as they are claimed to be "pluralistic" in their political and social structures; for this reason, it is only bourgeois democracy that can help unite all of their different social strata, classes, social and national groups.

Nationalists consider it important to create

the appearance of the U.S.A. having nothing to do with crimes perpetrated by the dictatorial regimes and counterrevolutionaries. "The frequent need to distance the U.S. publicly from repressive regimes... Double and even triple standards are inevitable... Washington is not linked in any way with repression in these countries," says Alan Tonelson, an American political scientist.

It is not accidental that the nationalist daily *Svoboda* mentioned the fascist coup in Chile only 16 days after it had taken place. Neither did this paper, or any other nationalist paper for that matter, mention mass executions and terror unleashed by Pinochet's junta against the Chilean people. But there were cynical calls upon the U.S. administration not to censure the Chilean dictator for the "several dozens of imprisoned" Chileans (*Svoboda*, October 19, 1978), to prohibit U.S. liberal press to speak out in defense of the Chilean political prisoners (*Samostiyna Ukrayina* (Independent Ukraine), issues 5-6, 1978), to mention just a few of the nationalist writings. The nationalist leaders entertain friendships with cutthroats of the former dictator Somoza, Cuban gusanos, Afghan bandits (whom President Reagan refers to as "freedom fighters") who are responsible for so many innocent deaths.

It should be noted here that Western propaganda, including the supporting chorus of the nationalistic voices, has several versions of this or that propagandistic item within the brackets of each of the major propagandistic directions. An attempt to convince the Western and Third World countries that the latter should

not rush with developing their own industries can be cited as a very pertinent example of this propagandistic flexibility. According to this subversive propaganda, the great technical progress leads to massive unemployment; that is why it is better for the Third World countries to remain the suppliers of raw materials. Of course, nothing is said about the fact that only under conditions of capitalism, advances in technology are responsible for increased unemployment.

A statement by Anthony Harrigan, President of Business and Industrial Council, may serve as an example of another type of propaganda also aiming at defending the interests of U.S. monopolies in the countries that have freed themselves from the colonial dependence. According to him, it is important to emphasize in propaganda aimed at the Third World countries, that the United States, in cases when it was obliged to send its troops to some of these countries, did it in "the interests of the peoples" of these countries, and, what is most important, "we always pulled out of these countries, we did withdraw" after restoring freedom there. In other words, no permanent occupation was planned, only "restoring order." What A. Harrigan chose not to mention was that U.S. military intervention invariably led to getting those political forces into power which were favored by the United States, or even to establishing downright dictatorial regimes. "I would argue though that the lot of the people in these countries would be much better today if they were under U.S. protection and direction," A. Harrigan is forced to admit.

Richard A. Snyder, State Senator of Pennsylvania, revealed still another example of subversive propaganda when he said that through using lies in some cases and keeping silence in others, Western propaganda managed to mislead a great number of people in the West and in some Third World countries as to the real situation in Kampuchea. As a result of this, Mr. Snyder writes, those who are responsible for "the horrible death of one million Cambodians: driven from their homes, massacred, starved, some chased into the sea;... a whole culture wiped out," are portrayed as "democrats."

The main method, which is being used by subversive propaganda, especially the one coming from the nationalist milieu, to justify the policy of neo-globalism, and which has been borrowed from the CIA stock of subversive methods, can be defined as misinformation. R. McGehe, a former CIA analyst, provides an example of misinformation employed to distort the facts about the actual state of things in the developing countries, and to present the American position in these matters in a more favorable light. In an article in the *Nation* magazine, of April 11, 1981, he wrote that in case of the absence of the necessary circumstances that would support the lawfulness of U.S. intrusion, the CIA either created the desired situations or invented them, making sure their fabrications spread all around the globe; disturbed by the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Chilean military to come out against Salvador Alliende, the CIA had fabricated a document which was "to prove" the left con-

spiracy to eliminate the Chilean top military commanders; the press informed the public of the conspiracy in front-page sensational headlines after which Alliende was overthrown and killed.

Provocative hearsay, rumors, gosspis are a significant element in subversive propaganda aimed at justifying Washington's aggressive attitudes towards the developing countries and national liberation movements.

Rumors about the possible invasion of Nicaragua by U.S. troops following reports of suspected attempts to bring Soviet MIG-21 jet fighters into Nicaragua which would be "a direct threat to the security of the United States," were launched by the Western propaganda and greedily picked up by the Ukrainian nationalist media. There were no MIGs, and consequently, no justification for a U.S. invasion, and a thorough U.S. inspection of Soviet vessels unloading at the ports of Nicaragua, failed to produce anything objectionable either, wrote L. Howel, a political scientist. In his words, a "cry wolf" situation was created that was designed to prevent the U.S. public which was largely against the invasion of Nicaragua, from failing to vote Republican at the 1986 elections to Congress.

Carrying out effective ideological subversion against the developing countries is made easier by the fact that in any of these countries the U.S.A. still maintains key positions in the economy as well as in ideology. Large news corporations control, to a large extent, the mass media in the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America as well as the training of corre-

sponding specialists; these corporations impose their values on the Third World through advertising and other means; they allow access to their information at reduced prices. The fact that news coverage is mostly in the hands of U.S. private organizations, is given an undue prominence in an attempt to cover up the basic unity of goals of the entire U.S. propaganda machine, from the biggest information agencies to puppet nationalist publications. The idea is to emphasize their private character, and thus claim their "independence" from outside pressures. In fact, their "independence" from the prevailing opinions within the United States itself, especially from the opinions of the working people, can be taken for granted. But another thing is also clear: all news agencies are under complete control of U.S. monopolistic capital and express its views and interests.

The main channels of communication in the developing countries are in Western hands. The ideological pressures are also effected directly through U.S. television and radio programs which are being broadcast to these countries; through special ideological agencies, operating under USIA auspices, and running 135 libraries in 83 countries; through magazines (the U.S.A. publishes 10 magazines for foreign consumption in 18 languages, 28 press bulletins etc.); through hundreds of films; through millions of copies of books, of video cassettes, and other means. It should be noted here that television channels of propaganda, with TV broadcasts beamed directly from TV satellites will be ever growing in importance.

American domination in culture, a sort of "cultural imperialism" is very much felt in the arts of the developing countries. Television is the most convenient means of imposing "mass culture" on people and it is actively used by the U.S.A.; in Latin America alone where the number of TV sets per capita is comparable to that in Western Europe, U.S. TV programs account for 75 % of all the imported TV programs shown on local networks. The *Newsweek* magazine in its January 7, 1985 issue commented the situation by saying that the U.S. TV programs and movies predominate in the world's networks and on the screens. The education and culture department that has been put under control of the USIA, is also working along the lines of "cultural imperialism." The department is responsible for cultural exchange. Tens of thousands of foreign guests, many of them of political and social prominence in their countries, come to the U.S. annually on the USIA exchange programs; in the early 1980s about 500 of them became cabinet ministers in their home countries, and 44 of them were promoted to heads of governments. The political nature of "cultural imperialism" is clearly revealed here, as well as its long-range goals.

"Information imperialism" is directed against the peoples of the Third World. This is why students from Asia, Africa and Latin America, studying in the United States are being subjected to heavy ideological pressure. "Project Democracy" has been designed to increase such ideological influence. The program aims to train political leaders for the developing countries,

to educate young people coming to the United States from the Third World countries, in the spirit of idolizing the American values, and to get an even firmer grip on the distribution of information.

According to John Silber, a leading U.S. political scientist, this ideological education is of special significance for "American interests in the future." "Among the most important of our recommendations was a call for 10,000 dollar government-sponsored scholarship to bring Central American students to the United States and to educate them in Central America. This would cost only 100 million dollars a year, and would return the investment many times over," wrote John Silber.

The cited facts indicate U.S. growing ideological subversion against the developing countries, against all progressive forces, with anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism at its core. Ideological subversion is directed mostly at the countries of progressive political orientation, specifically those that have chosen the socialist way of development. At the same time, ideological propaganda aims to prevent any democratic change in the countries with dictatorial and reactionary anti-democratic regimes. In an attempt to preserve U.S. hegemony in the ideological sphere, the entire U.S. brainwashing apparatus, in conjunction with Washington's political set-up, are actively working — at the level of major international organizations too — against the establishment of the New Information Policy (NIP) which is favored by all progressively-minded people of this planet. U.S. rightists reacted sharply to the discussions of

the problem at UNESCO, and to the activities of most of the developing countries towards establishing the NIP. Moreover, according to some Western analysis, it is the establishment of the NIP that was one of the deciding factors that resulted in the U.S. pulling out of UNESCO. Among those who hold this view are political analysts J. Richstad and M. Anderson. But at the same time they also fear that imperialist dominance in conveying information may once and for all be done away with. "By the early 1980s it was clear that the 'good, old days,' when a few agencies in developed nations virtually controlled international news flows, would never return," write J. Richstad and M. Anderson. Openly demagogical means are used in the U.S.A. in an attempt to hide or even deny the fact of "informational imperialism." The problem is dismissed as being "artificial" and of no political significance.

In relation to this, the above-mentioned analysts have the following to say: "The new order is deeply based in ethical and moral concerns of justice, freedom, equality, and human dignity." Next, they can't help indulging in stereotypes about the independence of the news media in the West. "The news media, and other communication systems generally, are privately owned and operated, they are under a minimum of government control, and they perform as a critic or watchdog of government... Everyone has the right to communicate."

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists do not hide their animosity towards the United Nations Organization and its agencies. The Melnyk-faction newspaper *Noviy Shlyakh* (New

Path), published in Canada, wrote in its October 8, 1983 issue: "The United Nations do not benefit the Western democracies in any way... The United Nations are really united in their antipathy against the U.S.A." In general, the nationalists treat any UN moves which go counter to the interests of the U.S. military-industrial complex or U.S. neo-globalism, as "activities to benefit the Soviet Union." The Melnyk-faction magazine *Samostiyna Ukrayina*, published in the U.S.A., in its March issue of 1985, had the following to say on the subject in question: "The Soviet Union is an international, truly global evil, and the struggle against it should also be global." Is this not a direct call for another crusade against the Soviet Union? The magazine goes on to recommend ways to achieve this goal: "small local wars behind which have always stood, to a greater or smaller extent, the two major rival superpowers that are in fact the major warring sides at the fronts of these small wars."

Closely adhering to the propagandistic line of U.S. neo-globalist policies, this magazine of the Melnyk-faction Ukrainian nationalists, calls upon the West, the U.S.A. above all, to act in a more determined manner in the local conflicts, to cast aside fears "that it can trigger a catastrophic global nuclear war." The nationalists, as well as their masters, consider the preservation of the dominant position of the U.S.A. in the news flows an important factor in the ideological preparation for world war. This dominance resulted in a few developed nations imposing their own values upon a great number of less developed countries.

In spite of the efforts of the imperialist reaction and its nationalist servile followers, the understanding of the true nature of the mythical "Soviet threat" is growing in the world, particularly in the developing countries. Carlos Fuentes, a Mexican political writer, wrote that the source of change in Latin America was not Moscow or Havana but history itself; it was impossible to build politics on the fatalistic premises that any country of the region, siezed with a revolutionary movement, would sooner or later become a place where the Soviet Union could build its bases.

Realistically-minded political writers and analysts in the U.S.A. make statements to the same effect with increasing frequency. Revolutions, write the researchers from the Washington Institute of Political Research, are not the result of Soviet and Cuban conspiracy though Castro's success has been a challenge and an inspiration to many leaders of these revolutions.

Looking at the regional problems through the distorting prism of anti-Sovietism is nothing more than regarding the present world and the entire historical process in very primitive terms. But this primitivism has a very definite social and political foundation. Who has a special interest in keeping and creating new hotbeds of tension in the world? Washington hawks, the military-industrial complex, all forces of reaction and imperialism, and all of their followers from the extreme right, neo-fascist and pro-fascist groups, and immigrant nationalist groupings. The political course that can lead to a further aggravation of tension worldwide is at

variance with the cause of social progress which is what all the nations and peoples are aspiring to.

People in socialist countries are quite realistic in assessing the current world situation and, notwithstanding the problems confronting them, they possess a well-grounded optimism and determination to continue promoting their peaceful policies aimed at developing cooperation and mutual understanding between countries with different social systems.

THE FOAM OF THE CONSERVATIVE WAVE

Political extremism in all of its manifestations is a permanent feature of capitalist society which is built on social oppression, coercion and injustice. After the Second World War, political extremism manifested itself, for example, in the Truman Doctrine of "containment of Communism" and the Dulles doctrine of "rolling back Communism," which were the political platform of the notorious Cold War. The influential American news magazine *Time* wrote in its issue of April 1, 1985 that in the political doctrine of the current U.S. administration "there is an echo... of the old 1950s right-wing idea of 'rolling back Communism'." But describing the differences between the present and former doctrines *Time* speaks of "radicalism" of a new kind.

The present-day anti-Communist "radicals" more and more often have recourse to force both on the international scene and at home, encourage the activities of various extremist groups, which have in fact become part of the political structure of bourgeois society, and are actively being used by the ruling elite as sort of "storm troops" in the struggle against supporters of peace and progress.

The right-wing extremist ideology and terrorist methods once again, as it happened in Europe before WWII when fascism was becoming a political force, are being used by the monopolistic oligarchy, turning them into an offi-

cially sponsored element of their home and foreign policies. Once again, similar to the way it was under fascist regimes, pretenders to world supremacy have proclaimed their intentions to the world. Once more, some of the Western political leaders are trying to make the concept of "export of counterrevolution" a reality. They are attempting to suppress the sovereignty of peoples that fall out of favor with them, by using terrorist methods, jingoistic and chauvinistic propaganda, slander and misinformation.

The ideological experience of German Nazism comes in handy in providing ideological support for this aggressive political course with the widest possible use of bourgeois-nationalistic slogans, and in spreading chauvinistic principles.

A new stage of American jingoism which has come to be termed "New Nationalism" or "Neo-Nationalism" has established itself in a clear-cut manner in the political life of the U.S.A. in the 1980s. In its core lies the division of the world into "us" and "them," with the former portrayed as having all the best values, and the latter as steeped in all possible sins and evils. Suspicion, disdainful attitudes, animosity towards anything that does not fit the doubtful values of "Americanism" are ranked as the highest manifestations of "the national consciousness" of every American. In other words, says B. Glad, U.S. psychologist, the world is divided into two camps where all the moral values are to be found in one camp and all the evils in the other, both sides facing one option: win or lose; in a world like this there

are no compromises that the countries in the opposing camps could reach.

For many decades now, Americans have been ideologically pressured to accept the image of "an external enemy" in the face of world Communism, the U.S.S.R. in particular.

The U.S. administration has stepped up its propagandistic campaign by using the mass media, and the entire arsenal of methods of manipulating the human brain. The "neo-nationalists" aim at switching the country's attention to the phantom of "an external enemy," using ideological, political and psychological pressures, and at having the population's negative attitudes shifted from internal to external issues.

The resurgence of ideological doctrines of primitive anti-Communism, with the corresponding division of the world into "forces of good and evil," appears to have its foundation in the ideas of medieval theology. Propaganda in the psychological war addresses itself to the faith in the "messianic" calling of the U.S.A. to defend the values of the capitalist way of life, rather than to reason. H. Wills, a U.S. political scientist, says that the apologists of capitalism are trying to persuade Americans and other nations that humankind has fallen into the "original sin" of Marxism, thus putting the West under the power of the Devil; Marxism makes efforts to penetrate the West by hook or by crook, it makes Western populations sleepless from worry; it lures away friends; it comes in many appearances; it poisons the air, it penetrates even the staunchest hearts; it plants "misinformers" in the West; it has not

only ballistic missiles, but also the Institute of Political Studies; peoples of the West can earn their redemption through fear and submission; they must don their heaviest spiritual armor to fight Marxism; it means that not only indulgences should be granted to the sinning countries but that those who reveal the deficiencies of America should be punished; it also means that the religious orders should be reinstituted with their full powers.

H. Wills refers to the CIA and the FBI when he speaks of "religious orders." But they are not the only tools of imperialistic reaction in insuring the social supremacy of the bourgeoisie in its present-day forms. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists being as they are part and parcel of the extremist wing, show a great activity along these lines as well. The nationalistic doctrines proceed now (as they did when the nationalists served the Nazis) from most primitive anti-Communism, betrayal of real national interests, extreme adventurism, hatred of masses, brutal force and ruthlessness. Needless to say, these doctrines are steeped in anti-Sovietism and Russophobia.

One of the most characteristic features is their hostility towards the working people which has a distinctive pro-imperialist tint. The late Yaroslav Stetsko, who, until his death, was for many years the head of the so-called Units Abroad of the OUN (UAOUN) — which is the Bandera faction of the OUN marked with the most flagrant extremism — wrote shortly before WWII: "Aspirations to build an empire have not been discarded rather quite the opposite... The myth of a Ukrainian Empire is a

monumental idea that keeps winning hearts." It is not accidental that the political program of the OUN adopted at the Second Great Convention of Ukrainian Nationalists in August of 1939, stated: "The main objective in the OUN program is... to preserve her (the Ukraine's — *Authors*)... imperial positions in the East of Europe."

It is true though, that the "imperial" ambitions of nationalistic puppets of Big Business have always been subordinate to providing services for any stronger imperialist predator. As long ago as WWI, the Ukrainian nationalists, entertaining hopes for the victory of Kaiser's Germany, went out of their way to impress upon the Germans that "as soon as you chase the Moskals (Ukrainian derogatory term for "Russian" — *Authors*) out of the Ukraine, you'll have everything you're lacking now: you'll have done away with the lack of means of gaining new profits, you'll become masters of the Black Sea, you'll be able to destroy the foundation of the economic and political might of Russia" (O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky. *The Importance of the Independent Ukraine for the European Balance,* Vienna, 1916. In Ukrainian).

After their experience of obedient service to the Nazis, now they eagerly accept their subservience to anyone who finances them and provides for their existence. The Ukrainian nationalists are not ashamed today that in case of the victory of capitalism in the future war which they pin so much hope on, the Ukraine should become semicolonial, a raw-materials source, a market for the West. The Ukraine, in the plans of these most malicious enemies of

the Ukrainian people, must be "the most faithful ally of the West and cooperate with it closely in all the spheres of international affairs. Wide opportunities for investments will be opened for the West (*Meta,* Munich, November, 1981). Thus, it is a matter of interest "for all those concerned." Truly, it is difficult to find an example of greater ideological and political degradation and betrayal of national causes in recent history.

Admitting that there have been no substantial changes in the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in recent decades, the nationalists, the Bandera-faction in particular, come up with statements of the following kind: "Ideologically, we are excellently equipped with classical works that lay down and develop the theory of Ukrainian nationalism... They are works by M. Mikhnovsky, V. Lipinskiy, D. Dontsov, S. Bandera, Ya. Stetsko (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* (Road of Freedom), London, n. 6, 1985). The "theoretical" works of fascist-minded D. Dontsov who eclectically combines the most reactionary views of such philosophers as Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Rosenberg and others of the same line, are considered by the nationalists to be a matchless example of nationalist thought. The OUN's *Shlyakh Peremohi* (Munich, May 17, 1983) says that "...Dmitro Dontsov is the quintessence of Ukrainian nationalist thinking... There is no greater political thinker than Dmitro Dontsov, there is absolutely no other nationalist thinker!"

Without going into the detailed analysis of the theoretical postulates of this "thinker," we will mention only that Dontsov regards the

working masses as "people from the caste of toads, turtles or swine" [D. Dontsov, *Dukh Nashoyi Davnyni,* Prague, 1944], that "a nation should be represented not by working intellectuals, not the class of land tillers..., but by a particular circle of the 'bestest' people."

This nationalist ideologist considered that these "bestest" people must form "a caste," absolutely separated from the people, and hostile to them. "I use the word 'caste' with purposeful intention," he wrote, "to emphasize the anti-democratic character of recruiting individuals for this group, of selecting its members for their anti-democratic spirit and political learnings; to emphasize its basic difference from the masses of a people or a nation." Dontsov insisted that there was a need of "a new caste of our own masters, and if there are none — then foreign masters would do." He saw the ideal of a state system in the national socialism of Adolf Hitler, the fascism of Benito Mussolini and the Spanish Falange of Francisco Franco.

There is hardly any need to comment the cult of brutal force, the eulogies of the Nietzschean "Übermensch" (superman) that are to be encountered in all the works of the pro-fascist "father" of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. "You can't be an apostle without having a desire to destroy someone or something," Dontsov wrote in 1944. This nationalistic extremist preached that "to achieve a triumph you have to follow the commandment of coercion and violence" [*Visnyk* (Herald), Prague, n. 1, 1932].

Calling upon the Ukrainian nationalists to

be "fanatics of an abstract idea," "to destroy everything cherished and familiar," Dontsov emphasized at the same time the need for all of their activities to be subordinate to "the clearly formulated anti-Bolshevist, or — in more general terms — anti-social idea."

As one can see, all of the postulates of this nationalist ideologist correspond well with the current practices of counterrevolution. His ravings claiming that the Bolsheviks achieve their victories with the help of 'the unseen force of the Diabolical spirit that has entered them," agree with the global doctrines of present-day "neo-conservatives." It seems that it was about these neo-conservatives that this nationalist obscurantist wrote back in 1938: "Wherever... one idea reigns supreme, wherever the enemy is called 'the Devil's Apostle,' wherever the native idea is pitched against the foreign one, as God is opposed to Lucifer... there is no room for compromises, but there are only 'demonism,' infernal fires, madness and frenzy there" [*Khrestom i Mechem* (With Cross and Sword), Toronto. *Homin Ukraini*, 1967]. Even some of the nationalistic authors have to admit that "proclaiming the volitional strong-will aspect of human psyche, Dontsov has elevated irrationalism, expansionism and fanaticism to the level of honesty" [*Suchasnist* (Present Times), Munich, n. 1, 1986]. Some of the international events of the first half of the 1980s were of a nature that would allow applying the above characteristic to a number of Western political leaders of today.

The anti-Communist frenzy which has been a permanent feature of the Ukrainian bourgeois

nationalists throughout their history, appears to have affected many in the Western ruling elite in the 1980s. As mentioned earlier, one of the most important features of present-day anti-Communism is "neo-nationalism." It is not accidental that the Bandera-faction nationalists like to emphasize the kinship of the most odious ideas of Dontsov with the chauvinistic trends which have become characteristic of the political life in the U.S.A. (*Homin Ukraini*, Toronto, February 20, 1985). The OUN is being made wide use of in the propagandistic support for the slogans of "the second American Revolution" (this is the way the neo-nationalist policies of the Republicans is referred to.—*Authors*). The nationalistic Number One ideologist Dontsov is liberally quoted, and his ideas are brought to public notice: "'zoological nationalism,' 'predatoriness'... are nothing else but the normal stance of any worthwhile individual, of any pedigreed group in their eternal struggle for the place under the sun"; "Traditions of liberalism, democracy, faith in harmony, faith in the disarming force of humanitarianism...— are the traditions time has come to bury."

Similar ideas can be found in doctrines of other nationalist ideologists. Openly fascist ideas make up the basis of the philosophy of M. Stsiborskiy, who, for example, wrote that "national-state imperialism is an unavoidable manifestation of history," and that "in its endeavors to strengthen the state externally, fascism unites in the common ideal all social strata of the nation under the slogan: nation and state are above classes and parties"

(M. Stsiborskiy. *Natsiokratiya*, Prague, Proboem, 1942).

This scribbler from the Melnyk faction wrote, in the worst traditions of Dontsov, that "it is for no good reason that representatives of democracy and Communism-Socialism shrink from straightforward ingenuity of fascist ideas which they describe as a 'zoologicall' monstrous and 'amoral' distortion of the goal of life and of human nature... Fascism demonstrated its honesty when... it put on the agenda of our epoch all the undisguised truth of the concept of life which, since time immemorial, has always been supported by... the laws of confrontation and by the right to use force (M. Stsiborskiy. *Natsiokratiya.* Prague, 1942).

It is this right to use force, the undisguised domination of Big Business in its ultimate manifestations that the nationalist program of building a state system relies on. "Only the supreme master of the Ukrainian land, only the Ukrainian monarch can generate strength without which freedom is anarchy. Only one man, one direction, one will — it is one master that can create the foundation of a state," wrote V. Lipinskiy. M. Stsiborskiy insited that "dictators and authoritarian leading minorities — that is who best can exercise their social functions." Such ideas made the basis of the earlier mentioned OUN political program which, in part, says: "Ukrainian nationalism will build the system and social life of its statehood on the sound principles of leadership. The ultimate authority and embodiment of this principle will be with the Head of State — the Leader of

the Nation... as its Helmsman and its greatest Authority."

What are these "sound principles" that are to become the basis for the nationalistic state? The OUN program reads: "The existence of political parties shall be banned by law. The only form of political organization of the country's population shall be the OUN."

Openly racist laws were to be in operation in their state, with fascist Italy and Nazi Germany taken as guidelines. One of the OUN ideologists Ye. Onatskiy had this to say on the matter: "The idea of blood kinship race lies in the basis of all the organic relations of a large community." Hence, it is necessary that "the Ukrainian state... use the well-tested Aryan laws of the totalitarian states to be fully impregnable to the noxious influence of the Jewry." Even the Western analysts who in the postwar years went out of their way to whitewash the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, specifically their activities while in the service of the Nazis, were forced to admit that the theory and teachings of the nationalists (Ukrainian nationalists—*Authors*) bore a strong resemblance to fascism. In some respects, as in their insistence on 'racial purity,' they even went beyond the original Fascist doctrines (J. A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, N. Y., London, 1963).

The nationalist extremists also made quite clear their attitudes to the working people's struggle for their social rights. In their maniacal projects, the nationalists planned to have strikes "banned by law as incompatible with the principles of a 'nationalist' state." Yaroslav Stetsko, this political machinator and war crim-

inal, also wrote on the subject, with no less frankness: "The agitators of class struggle and advocates of 'rights of man and citizen' must once and for all be struck from Ukrainian national life." Though written more than forty years ago, these words remain an excellent illustration of the views of this nationalist right-winger whom Western propaganda, with much prompting from the current U.S. administration, is trying to present as "an important figure" in fighting for "human rights."

In September 1984, during the "protest" demonstration staged by the Ukrainian nationalists in front of the Soviet Embassy in Washington with the connivance of the authorities, the Bandera-faction nationalists resorted to such brutal and violent acts, that even such an orthodoxical nationalist newspaper as *Svoboda* was forced to express disapproval. In its March 17, 1985 issue, it wrote: "This stunt (the attempt of five intoxicated youths who had worked themselves into a frenzy, to penetrate into the Embassy grounds — *Authors*) did not achieve any useful purpose; rather it resulted in negative publicity for our cause on television." But the OUN did not seem to mind. They were much more concerned about the reaction of the secret services to this act of political banditism, hoping that the bonus for "the stunt" would be big enough.

But let us return to the OUN program. The program wants the entire Ukrainian people to be under arms, thus turning the hypothetical OUN state into a military camp. "Proceeding from the conviction that the proper development of the Ukrainian state is possible only if its

imperial positions were to be maintained for a considerable stretch of time, the program pays great attention to the development of Ukrainian militarism... Ukrainian militarism is the sword of ideology of Ukrainian nationalism for achieving its historic objectives."

The people of the Ukrainian S.S.R. did not allow the OUN "to develop militarism" and terrorism on their native soil. The militant mercenaries of international reaction were thrown off the territory of the Ukraine once and for all, and thus they lost any social base there. But the militaristic enthusiasm is still being displayed by the nationalist "combatants" in spite of their considerable age, and by all sorts of political corpses. Their very existence directly depends on how well they carry out the instructions of their masters, Western secret services and the most despicable forces of anti-Communism in the first place. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are being actively used in providing propagandistic support for the maniacal plans of American imperialism to gain dominant positions in the world, for the unprecedented arms race unleashed by imperialism that now wants to extend the race into outer space, for carrying out acts of state terrorism and thwarting the sovereignty of independent nations.

Such a political stance falls well into the tradition of the nationalistic counterrevolution. Dontsov wrote in 1967 (*Khrestom i Mechem*, Toronto): "The final clash between the sign of the Hammer and Sickle and the sign of the Crucified One is approaching; the clash between the Bolshevist Star and the Cross. And we either win... or lose to be destroyed." The

notorious Stepan Bandera in categorical terms stated back in 1959 that "the most radical way" of solving all the problems that the West has to face, is a total world war launched with the aim of destroying Bolshevism" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, October 23, 1983).

It is well known that fascism in power means war, and the kinship of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and fascism is most evident in the nationalists' obnoxious anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

As we have already pointed out, unbridled eulogizing of the capitalist way of life, relying on the violent methods of upholding bourgeois class supremacy are integral parts of the ideological principles of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. They are a natural development from the pro-fascist ideas of nationalist philosophy. Yaroslav Stetsko back in the times of the Third Reich, formulated the OUN anti-Communist credo: "A Bolshevik forfeits his Ukrainian background, he is a traitor to the nation. The betrayal of the national and state interests must be punished by death the way it is done in Germany. Communists are also punished there by death. What kind of punishment then should be meted out to them here? We have never had and will never have any mercy for Communists." It is from "the anti-Communist attitudes" that "the most valid arguments" are drawn to provide "indulgences" for the terrible crimes the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists committed against the Soviet people when they were serving the Nazis. Ya. Hayvas, one of the OUN ideologists today and a former Nazi collaborator, wrote recently: "When, in

the wake of Hitler's coming to power in January 1933, the anti-Communist elements found themselves in a position to voice their opinions, it only boosted the striving among the Ukrainians (the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, that is—*Authors*) to look for common ways of development with Germany" (*Suchasnist*, Munich, n. 10, 1985). The aging collaborationist evidently hopes that the present-day anti-Communists will understand him well.

Fighting against the realities of the present-day world, the functionaries of the nationalistic organizations who have become accustomed to being the storm troopers for imperialism, pin hopes for their continued existence exclusively on the anti-Communist orientation of many Western political leaders; this orientation makes them blind to the real issues at hand and pushes them forward in a dangerous direction. The nationalists live in constant fear that realistical approaches to international relations will, in the end, get the upper hand over political adventurism. The nationalist *Ukrainsky Visti* (Detroit, February 3, 1985) cynically admitted that the nationalist counterrevolution "thrives in the atmosphere of the Cold War as recent years have shown... It is not surprising that a majority in our ranks... are against detente being reestablished." In order to continue in the parasitic role of a tool of militant anti-Communism, the nationalist leaders go to great lengths to prove that the United States "should not be just stockpiling the most sophisticated weapons but should always be prepared to use them" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, November 6, 1983). The Bandera-faction's *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* (n. 9,

1984) wrote that "both detente and the balance of forces have become outdated now as means of solving political crises in the world."

This desire to see the world involved in conflict or even in nuclear war, clearly reflects the incompatibility of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism with the hopes and aspirations of the people and with the objective laws governing the historical process. In this light, provocative statements by nationalist "experts" in matters concerning the Soviet Union, made to the effect that constructive dialogue with the Socialist community is detrimental to the West, are nothing but duplicity.

Minding only their own interests and those of other anti-Communist extremists, the nationalist leaders continue to reiterate that "compromise with Communism equals complete, albeit not immediately evident, surrender to death" (*Ukrainsky Visti*, Detroit, January, 1982). In connection with this statement, made incidentally by the paper which pretends to the reputation of "democratic" and "non-partisan," one cannot help recollecting expostulations of the Bandera "messiah" Dontsov: "If the Western man does not destroy the Bolshevist spirit in the Western community, in himself, in his soul, in the soul of everyone in the West, it is futile to try to fight Bolshevism outside the Western world" (*Khrestom i Mechem*). One of the oldest nationalist ideologists I. Kedryn had to admit a few years ago: "In fact there are no principal ideological differences in the Ukrainian free community in the diaspora (that is the way the nationalist counterrevolutionaries refer to themselves — *Authors*)... Bolsheviks

have grounds to treat us all under the common denominator of 'bourgeois nationalists'" (*Noviy Shlyakh*, October 15, 1983). Both Bandera extremists and their "rivals," vying for bonuses from Western secret services and disguising their reactionary nature with pseudo-democratic phraseology, are staunch enemies of social progress for they share the same class positions. Instead of accepting the trend toward the relaxation of tensions which is the only real alternative to the frantic arms race unleashed by imperialism, and to the threat of complete destruction of humankind in a nuclear holocaust, the nationalists are calling for further aggravation of international tensions, confirming their readiness, as they did when they were serving the Nazis, "to work together with the West... in order to wipe out Communism of any kind from the face of the earth (*Noviy Shlyakh*, May 4, 1982).

Such "emphatic" statements coming from the nationalist puppets of imperialist reaction are, to say the least, ludicrous. Their cooperation with the most aggressive forces of imperialism has always been to obediently carry out the dirtiest tasks these forces set them. As far as their participation in anti-Soviet campaigns is concerned, the Ukrainian nationalists have always been doing everything that would draw a favorable response from those conducting the psychological war. It is especially dangerous now, when, at a time of final decision, a choice must be made between sliding toward nuclear disaster and coexistence in the mutually guaranteed peace.

The mysanthropic quality of the OUN ideas has already been described to the reader. They correspond in full measure to the doctrines of the most reactionary elements among today's neo-conservatives; the essence of these doctrines was formulated back in the 1950s by the leader of the Republican right-wingers Barry Goldwater who said that they (right-wing Americans, that is) would prefer to dispatch humanity to the other world rather than let it live under Communism. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have become harbingers of nuclear global death. At the same time, the nationalists try to camouflage their histerical calls for nuclear Armageddon with demagogical phraseology.

The Bandera-faction *Shlyakh Peremohi* (July 15, 1984) said, for example: "War against the forces of anti-Christ (socialist countries in the parlance of the nationalists — *Authors*) is a holy war," and those who stand for the preservation of the peace "close for Christians the door to salvation." And Ya. Stetsko had this to say in the *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* (n. 8, 1984): "If we believe in God, why should we be afraid of physical destruction?"

Naturally, not all of those who favor the massive destruction of humankind now express themselves in such an unequivocal and blatant way. Very often now they declare themselves "supporters of peace," trying at the same time to firmly implant the "inevitability" of nuclear war in the people's consciousness but do it in a more subtle manner. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists belong in this category. "Has anybody ever been able to stop the outbreak of war? War is an ultimate law of history," said

Shlyakh Peremohi in its issue of March 28, 1982, and on April 21, 1985 it insisted with a cannibalistic glee: "The entire world is living in the shadows of a third world war." As it has always been before whenever the issue at stake is the vital problem of war and peace, the Bandera extremists are fully supported by pseudo-liberal nationalistic publications. "Only America, mighty and wealthy, can stop the advance of Communists on the free world," wrote, for example, the *Ukrainsky Visti* (May 27, 1984). The paper suggests the use of "sharp measures... in order to repel the Communist offensive...," turning a deaf ear to the outcries and protests of liberals all around the world. "If the world does not follow the course of the national idea and heroic Christianity, it will be plunged into the abyss of Bolshevism," says the *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* (n. 8, 1985) trying to instill fear into the Western community. Thus, anti-Communism which is capable of pushing the world to nuclear destruction, reveals itself here in the "National idea" and "heroic Christianity."

Among those ideologically supporting the plans of the reactionary forces to stop social progress, one finds a number of nationalist priests. In April 1985, for example, the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) Mstyslav (alias S. Skrypnyk, formerly a colonel in Petlura's army and nephew of Petlura himself) in his message to President Reagan wrote obsequiously: "We (nationalist clergy — *Authors*) want to assure you, Mr. President, that we fully support Your efforts to stop the spread of Communism... Successful maintenance of the peace in the

whole world requires complete support of Your policy against Communism in the whole world" (*Noviy Shlyakh*, May 11, 1985).

This hypocrisy hardly needs any commentary. However, a similar message of the UAOC leadership of forty years ago is even more revelatory. Then the nationalists who had sold themselves to Nazism, in their address to Hitler, whimpered servilely: "In honor of the anniversary since, following Your orders, courageous sons of the Great German People have come to the Ukrainian lands... We, bishops of the UAOC send from ourselves... assurances as to our faithfulness to the lofty ideals the realization of which Providence has called You to achieve... We believe that the time is near when in the rejuvenated Europe bells will ring telling the whole world of the victory of the truth over the evil, and the peoples freed from slavery will greet You as a victor." Despite a forty-year difference the phraseology used is very similar to that used today.

The comparison of these two messages clearly shows that the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have remained what they have always been — puppets of totalitarian anti-Communism; for crumbs from its table they are prepared to commit any betrayal or crime. In their attempts to hide their mercenary function, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, as always, resort to demagogy. The "manifest" of the latest, 6th, so-called Great Gathering of the OUN Units Abroad stated, in part, that "nationalism means anti-racism, anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-militarism, anti-Communism, anti-capitalism" (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh,* n. 3, 1982). Here one

can agree with the Bandera-faction nationalists only in one point — Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism is indeed the embodiment of the most primitive anti-Communism. As far as its "anti-imperialism, anti-totalitarianism, anti-capitalism, anti-racism" are concerned, even the above sketchy acquaintance with the nationalistic doctrines must convince one to the contrary.

In the heat of their internal wrangles, some of the nationalist functionaries blurt out statements admitting as much. For example, the Chicago-based nationalist paper *Ukrayinske Zhyttya* (Ukrainian Life) wrote on September 1, 1981: "Stetsko followers (and we could add — all other nationalist factions — *Authors*) would like to establish a totalitarian system in the Ukraine. More than once in the past they fought on the side of the totalitarian regimes of other nations. They helped Franco establish a totalitarian order in Spain, and later served Hitler in setting up new order in Europe." The Canadian nationalist magazine *Novi Dni* (New Days) supports the same opinion. It said recently that among the OUN members at the time of the Third Reich, there prevailed "an atmosphere and even phraseology that reflected well the totalitarian leanings of both factions (those of Bandera and Melnyk — *Authors*). Remnants of the old political leanings are still to be found in the psychology of the majority of both factions even today and there is no way to change them (May, 1985).

There is no way to change the nationalists' anti-democratic class nature which serves the most belligerent forces of anti-Communism. The nationalists cannot imagine themselves engaged

in any "independent" activity, the way they could not do it when the OUN was serving the Nazis thus assuming the role of Nazi puppets, and boasting of the terrible crimes they had committed on Ukrainian soil. All the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet acts of the immigrant nationalists are inspired and sponsored by the most reactionary forces and secret services of Western countries where nationalists of Ukrainian descent are residing. B. Kohen, a U.S. political analyst, wrote that the nationalist counterrevolution was being subsidized only with the aim of manipulating it in a desired way, and not fulfilling its wishes.

It is impossible to apply any serious criteria to the ideological doctrines of anti-Communism as it is based on thoroughly idealistic irrational premises, trying to present capitalism as an "eternal" social and economic system. In this respect, it is no wonder that anti-Communism of today tends to unite all the counterrevolutionary forces to present a solid front.

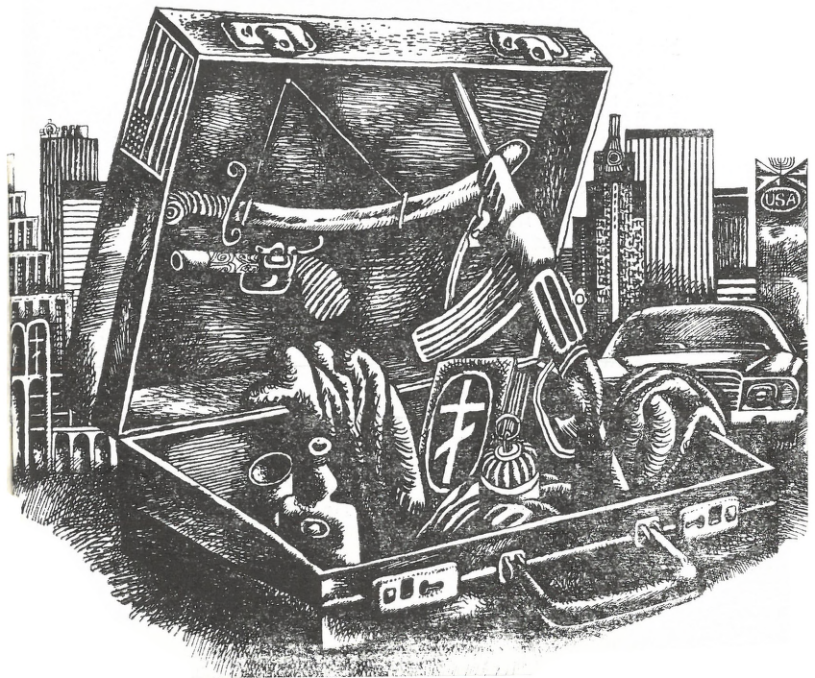
History has witnessed many instances when the bourgeoisie has been forced to resort to suppressing national liberation movements which went outside the "ordinary" bourgeois democratic methods of political struggle. Under present conditions, nationalism is being used as a means of ideological preparation for a third world war. Postulates of "war against all," preponderance of one's own nation over the others, its "exclusiveness" and pretenses to the status of "the Chosen People" which underlie the nationalist theories, serve the same purpose.

In this light it becomes very clear why the most reactionary forces of the West are so active-

ly using all kinds of extremists, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists included, to achieve their ends. Yu. Rymarenko, a Soviet social scientist, writes: "Ukrainian nationalism has concentrated in itself the most characteristic features of the decadent ideology of anti-Communism with the help of which the international political reaction is trying to save the capitalist system from collapsing. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, as a variety of bourgeois nationalism in general, as a manifestation of ideological emptiness and capitalism's lack of a future, is steeped in mindless loathing for the Soviet Ukraine, and for the Soviet Union in general, for all progressive humankind... The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism has always been and remains a reactionary, anti-humanistic, anti-democratic and cosmopolitan ideology, politics and practice... Under present conditions, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are treacherous enemies of the ethnic Ukrainians living outside the Ukraine, enemies of the nations whose governments have allowed the immigrating Ukrainians to come and settle for residence, enemies of the working masses of the world."

One can easily apply Lenin's definition, made in 1905, of one of the counterrevolutionary parties of Russia to the nationalist counterrevolution of today. Lenin wrote that it's not a political system, it's the foam that appeared in the clash of the struggling forces. The ideology and practical activities of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in the West are this foam which appears only when the moribund political system is trying to check the social progress, resorting to the aid of the scum of society.

THEY SOLD THEMSELVES TO WALL STREET



Class-based extremism which is characteristic in the period of an upsurge in conservatism being observed in the West, is the reaction of imperialist forces to further aggravation of the social and economic contradictions of capitalism, to the growth of socialism's might, to the expansion of the revolutionary liberation movements in the world. Extremism is an attempt to check the further growth of massive discontent with the crises in the capitalist society of today and work out a concrete alternative to the liberal-reformist policy on the whole.

The reliance on the class dictate of the bourgeoisie, in its extreme manifestations, can be best observed in the activities of the current U.S. administration, the citadel of imperialism. The U.S. financial oligarchy has always been and remains in the vanguard of big business offensive, employing the most barbaric methods of class oppression against the rights of labor. The *Village Voice* newspaper, in its issue of April 30, 1984, admitted that the domestic counterrevolution, promoted by the current government, resulted in the loss of hope for many thousands of Americans, in premature deaths, in unexpected illnesses, in pauperism and degradation. The Republican administration has drastically cut social security funds. According to the American Center of Budget and Political Priorities, only one in every four of the official 7.9 million unemployed (the actual number of

the jobless Americans is estimated to be about twice that) has been on the dole.

The situation in many other countries of the "free world," affected by a new conservative wave, is hardly any better. By the end of 1985, the unemployment in Western Europe reached a staggering 20 million; the rates of inflation were again high. Great Britain, West Germany, France and other West European countries were working out anti-labor laws and putting them to use. At the start of 1986, one out of every five persons in the capitalist countries suffered from malnutrition, lived below the poverty line, or was illiterate. Some 250 million people lived in inadequate homes or were homeless altogether.

Anti-Communism and fear, caused by social changes in the world in favor of socialism, are the essence of reactionary domestic and foreign policy of the imperialist-oriented states. The "Communist threat" has been invented to justify the black deeds of the Western reactionary forces on the international scene and at home, to continue the fight against the Communist parties, against democracy, to strengthen the monopolistic pressures.

Conervatives in the United States are having a large set of anti-democratic measures implemented. The program of the "new conservatives" who, with increasing frequency, are being appointed to key posts in Washington, envisages a course leading to the aggravation of tensions in relations with the Soviet Union and its allies. This could result even in the breaking of diplomatic relations, escalation of the arms race, the military intervention of the

U.S.A. to suppres the national liberation movements. On the domestic front, the program calls for the tightening of racist and anti-labor laws, sharp cuts in budget appropriations for education, complete abandoning of social security programs, and reinstitution of "red hunts," at a scale surpassing that of the McCarthy era. R. A. Viguerie, an influential neo-Conservative wrote in his book *The New Right* (1980): "We are radicals who want to change the existing power structure." The New Right advocate the establishment in the U.S.A. of a dictatorship of the military-industrial complex of pro-fascist orientation. Even such a "superhawk" as Barry Goldwater, Senator from Arizona, looks a dove in comparison with radicals of the Viguerie type. "Once I was called an extremist. I haven't changed any and now they think I'm a little bit to the left," said the Senator in the *US News & World Report"* (September 3, 1984).

The influential *Time* magazine said in its issue of August 27, 1984, that "Reagan remains devoted... to preaching the New Right line on social issue." The New Right's line on involving the counterrevolutionary immigrant groups in subversive acts is also supported by the current U.S. administration. *The Washington Times*, known for its belligerent anti-Sovietism, wrote on March 15, 1985, expressing the views of high-ranking Washington officials, that representatives of anti-Communist immigrant communities were very conservative in matters of social reforms and the arms race — the two main directions in President Reagan's policies, and that is why they must be used in

a corresponding manner in providing ideological support for the big business offensive against labor.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists make themselves quite noticeable against the background of numerous immigrant counterrevolutionary organizations based in the U.S.A. which unite immigrant ethnics from the Soviet Baltic Republics, the Caucasus, Byelorussia, and others.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism has always been and remains a class-based phenomenon hostile to the people of the countries where nationalist organizations function. That was the situation in bourgeois Poland where the nationalist leaders were agents of the secret services; later they entered the service of Hitler's Germany but in each of these cases they worked against the interests of the Polish working people. That was the situation before and during the Second World War when the organization of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists made up part of Hitler's fifth column in the U.S.A. and fulfilling the orders of the Nazi secret services, they staged acts of sabotage on U.S. territory. They called for the abrogation of the U.S. commitments to its allies, indulged in pro-Nazi propaganda, and so on. The hostility of the nationalist leadership to the American people was also evident during the period of McCarthyism in the U.S.A. when propaganda of the reactionary immigrant groups worked to justify the persecution of all those who championed the cause of democracy and equal rights for all the working people. They called for the suppression of Communist

and other progressive organizations, organized provocations against Ukrainian ethnics who were members of the Communist and workers' parties.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have always indulged in slandering and in hurling abuse at prominent figures of the Communist party, champions of peaceful coexistence and cooperation of the countries with different social and economic systems. Their hostility towards the working masses is revealed in their traditional apology of the extreme-right groups such as the John Birch Society, revanchist groups in West Germany, neo-fascist groups in England, Italy, and other countries. With some of these groups the Ukrainian nationalists have already established close contacts.

The leaders of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists go out of their way to create an image of themselves as the "most loyal" of citizens, equating their services to the most reactionary forces of imperialism and their full support of the social domination of Big Business, with their "patriotic" activities in the countries of their residence. At the same time, they emphasize that when they speak of "patriotism," they mean the support of the chauvinistic, interventionist policies of the U.S.A., of anti-Communist hysteria so characteristic of the Western world in the 1980s. "Patriotism in America has started to grow with the political trends shifting to the right... This phenomenon has not grown out of thin air; there has been a cause for it. It is closely linked to the successes of Reagan in combatting economic crises, and to such courageous actions as the inter-

vention in Grenada that led to the displacement of the local Marxist government, and also to the courageous policies... in Central America," wrote the nationalist paper *Svoboda* on December 20, 1983. As we can see the OUN "patriotism" embodies their positive attitudes to the most brutal manifestations of U.S. Big Business class extremism. "We approve of the U.S. foreign policy when it is militant..., and we are indignant when this policy begins to move towards detente," stated the same newspaper on February 25, 1984.

On the other hand, the nationalists proclaim themselves hundred percent Ukrainians, working relentlessly for the good of "Mama Ukraine." We have already spoken about their "patriotism" towards the Ukrainian S.S.R. Here we can only add that the so-called "theory of two Motherlands," which is provocatively being manipulated by the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, is aimed at justifying the services these professional counterrevolutionaries give to the imperialist forces, and at disguising its out-and-out anti-democratic nature, so as to mislead Ukrainian ethnics abroad. Another purpose the theory serves is to show the "necessity" of confrontation of the West with the socialist countries. As far back as 1973, the earlier mentioned I. Kedryn wrote: "We have been and are against the coexistence of the Western countries, America to begin with, with Bolshevist Moscow..., but, as we enjoy the privilege of having two Motherlands, we have a greater right, or even a civil duty, to be in opposition to such a policy (the policy of relaxation of tensions and peaceful coexistence — *Authors*) and to demon-

strate that this policy is detrimental not only to the Ukraine but as a matter of fact, from the point of view of the interests of America, also to the American interests" [*Visti Kombatanta* (News of the Combatant), Toronto-New York].

It is necessary to point out that jingoism of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and other similar counterrevolutionary immigrant groups is highly praised by the official Western propaganda. The *Foreign Affairs* and *Time* magazines called the anti-Communist immigrant groups the most outspoken patriots of the countries of their origin, and superpatriots of the countries of their residence (*Foreign Affairs*, Summer, 1981; *Time*, March 10, 1980). In May 1985, at the congress of the so-called American friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), President Reagan himself, addressing a handful of war criminals and Nazi collaborators (the political corpses who largely make up the ABN), said that the ABN was an organization that, thanks to its ethnic variety, contributed to the American culture, and was necessary for America's strength. He went on to say that he supported and praised the efforts of such organizations as the ABN (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, June 9, 1985).

It is quite understandable why a U.S. president should have appraised the activity of the hard-core anti-Communists from the reactionary immigrant groups the way he did. The architects of the psychological war against the U.S.S.R. and its allies are trying to create a unified anti-Soviet front, to unite the subver-

sive efforts, to encourage even more active work for the imperialist secret services.

The impudent puppets from the ABN demand to be recognized nothing short of "lawful representatives of oppressed nations..., to be provided with sufficient financial and economic resources..., to be accepted into the structure of the United Nations Organization" (*Shlyakh Peremohi,* January 5—12, 1986). According to *The New Republic* (September 30, 1985), the leadership of the ABN and the so-called World Anti-Communist League (WACL) is made up of war criminals, neo-Nazis, neo-fascists and anti-Semites who constantly call for doing away with the Helsinki Accords, for the economic boycott of the U.S.S.R., and for the expulsion of the Soviet Union from international organizations. The ABN extremists offer their services to those who recruit terrorist death squads, and contribute to the psychological war efforts against the Soviet Union and its allies. The "international" conference of the ABN that was convened in November 1985 in London, "appealed to the U.S. Congress and other nations to establish a psychological warfare center either within NATO or at the Pentagon, made up of spokesmen representing national liberation organizations (counterrevolutionary immigrant groups that is — *Authors*). We suggest to establish a freedom school to carry out studies of the problems of the oppressed nations, to develop psycho-strategies, and train personnel" (*Homin Ukrayini,* February 3, 1986).

As we can see, the appetites of the creatures from the anti-Communist camp are growing. They have evidently come to realize that pa-

triotism now is associated in the West with extreme jingoism and anti-Sovietism. No wonder, the Bandera-faction people are happy to note that at present, in the ruling quarters of the U.S.A. the word "patriot" carries the same meaning as the word "nationalist" does in the Ukrainian nationalist political phraseology (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh,* n. 1, 1985).

It should be noted that here the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have come close to the truth. Their activities are indeed an embodiment of "patriotism" of the neo-conservative kind. However, the nationalist press sometimes carried statements of quite a different nature as to the essence of "patriotic" demagogy of the OUN. The immigrant groups often find themselves at war with each other, and in attempt to smear their opponents, and in the heat of polemics, they quite often come up with pinpointed assessments of their opponents' activities. The Melnyk-faction *Noviy Shlyakh,* for example, characterizing the Bandera-faction extremists, wrote in October, 1983 that these people "made a professional pursuit out of Ukrainian nationalism, and under the slogans of fighting for the liberation of the Ukraine have found themselves... a paying occupation... It's high time for our 'professional patriots' to stop pronouncing 'the truths of the last instance' which they use to negate all and everything." The same paper had to admit that the functionaries of the nationalist organizations are the so-called "Ukrainians on the payroll," and that as a result of their activities in the U.S.A,. "a new type of man of Ukrainian descent" had emerged, different from the "regular" Ukrain-

ian, "a sort of 'super-American' with a good measure of hostility towards everything Ukrainian, and a considerable measure of conviction that Ukrainian meant second-class" (January 16, 1982). It is difficult not to agree with the *Ukrayinske Zhyttya* magazine which described the OUN smart "patriots" in the following manner: "If a complete stranger read our current press, he would surely call the free Ukrainian community 'people with no homeland'" (January 1, 1984).

The nationalists "with no homeland" support the assault, even in its extreme forms, of Big Business against labor. Even the influential *New York Times* (September 15, 1985) called them, among other immigrant groups, people who had sold themselves to Wall Street. In this respect, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' attitude to "Reaganomics" is quite revealing. The main features of "Reaganomics" are: the offensive of monopoly capital against labor's rights and interests; suppression of ethnic minorities; a worsening of American living standards in general; intensive militarization; a policy abroad that leads to the worsening of relations with socialist and developing countries.

In view of this, even some of the respectable periodicals sometimes make critical remarks in assessing the White House home policies. They are compelled to admit that the home policy of the current administration adversely affects labor's social gains. As a result of this, those in power, more often than ever before, shift the burden of ideological support of anti-democratic programs onto the shoulders of the so-

called "yellow press," to which the Ukrainian bourgeois publications also belong.

As far as the OUN is concerned, it persists in camouflaging the anti-labor, anti-democratic character of "Reaganomics," praising in every possible way the ecomonic doctrine of the current U.S. administration, describing this policy as the only possibility to overcome the perennial crisis of capitalist society. The Bandera-faction *Shlyakh Peremohi*, for example, in the article titled *To the Defense of Reaganomics* and published at the close of 1982, called the introduction of "Reaganomics" "an almost revolutionary step" and insisted that this policy "be continued for another twenty years."

In would have been surprising if the nationalist "super-patriots" had taken a different stand regarding the home policy of the U.S. administration. Anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, jingoism and class extremism that are to be found in its foundation, are also part and parcel of the political program of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. "Reagan wants to build new nationalism in the U.S.A.; he wants to convince the American people that... they must be ready for sacrifices, that there should be greater budget appropriations for armaments, that guns are needed instead of butter," said the nationalist *Svoboda* on May 21, 1982. The Bandera faction supports such views as well. Their leader at that time, Yaroslav Stetsko, writing under the pen name of Ya. Orlovskiy, tried to persuade Americans that the struggle with Communism "called for self-denial, rejection of luxuries, fewer benefits... It is arma-

ments that are needed, not trade" (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh*, n. 6, 1982).

The nationalists regard millions of ordinary people whom "Reaganomics" has robbed of work and, for all practical purposes, has thrown out of life, as worthless individuals since Big Business finds no use for them. The OUN leaders hope that the economic assault of the monopolies on labor's rights "will become a basis and an impulse for the emergence of super-large capitalist corporations and unprecedented accumulation of capital."

In their reckoning, the colossal monopolies will be better equipped to sustain the class supremacy of the bourgeoisie. It is very characteristic of the nationalists to negate the undeniable fact of a growing crisis in the capitalist economy (which is attributed even by the Western press, to a large extent, to the destructive policies promoted by the U.S. military-industrial complex), and to comment it from the standpoint of supporters of the arms manufacturers. Their "optimism" proceeds from their belief that "capitalists trust in the future."

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists become indignant when "as a result of inflation and high percentage charged on loans people begin to curse bankers." The nationalist press makes it a point to convince its readership that monopolies are "not only useful, but also necessary social institutions" (*Noviy Shlyakh*, January 30, 1982). The OUN has especially "warm feelings" of course, for those monopolies which are connected with the military-industrial complex and thus with the arms race and militarization of the country. "Now, at a time of very high unem-

ployment in the U.S.A., one of the more successful job-creating employers is the Pentagon... Arms production is doubly beneficial: it contributes to the national defense and significantly reduces the unemployment," said *Svoboda* on June 16, 1983. The demagogy of these nationalists with no homeland is particularly evident in their statements like the following: "The military are now once again enjoying respect and authority. Evidently, this is a result of the economic situation with a great number of unemployed who have no choice but to go and join the armed forces. An economic situation has thus been created which induces the young men tc join the armed forces in numbers which even exceed the current recruiting demand" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, June, 12, 1983).

Thus, the nationalists offer a simple solution to many problems: keep on making arms and never mind what happens to the millions of jobless people. The nationalist extremists are quite satisfied with the current economic situation. With unprecedented cynicism they speak of the war preparations unfolding before WWII as "an exemplary way" of overcoming Western economic crises. "The easiest way to come out of a recession and stimulate the economy is through militarization; this was done in the 1930s: the world war alleviated the depression," stated the nationalist *Svoboda* on February 4, 1983. Such statements can only come from mentally unbalanced persons.

The OUN is making attempts to prove that unemployment in the U.S.A. is not such a bad thing either. *Unemployment That Does Not Scare Anyone* was a pretentious title of a *Svo-*

boda article of August 5, 1982. The paper said in this article that even if the family of the unemployed worker "finds itself in dire straits," it did not starve, so there was no need to pity people thrown out of work; besides if the jobless wanted to avoid privation they must "join the armed forces." As we can see the nationalists' suggestions as to how to do away with unemployment do not claim any variety.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' calls for constantly larger war budgets and for moving to the next spiral of the unprecedented arms race crearly reflect the class hostility of these counterrevolutionaries to the vital interests of the working people in countries of their current residence, including the working people of Ukrainian descent.

It is appropriate here to remind the reader that out of each dollar Americans pay in federal tax, 51 cent is spent for military programs. Starting with 1987, the appropriations for the Star Wars projects are to be increased by 75 %. Even at the time this was being written, the expenditures for the SDI programs constituted 4 billion 800 million dollars. In 1986, the U.S. budget appropriations for defense reached an astronomical figure of over 300 billion dollars. According to some estimates, about 2.3 trillion dollars will have been spent on the military purposes by the end of the term of the current U.S. administration. These enormous military expenditures are the cause of privation for millions of Americans. According to American Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates, the reallocation of one billion dollars from health and social security to the military entails the loss

of 24.5 thousand jobs, and from education to the military leads to a loss of 51 thousand jobs.

Everything that is good for labor is bad for the retrograde nationalists. They especially approve of the section in the White House economic program which is aimed at doing away with the social gains of American labor. The nationalists claim that the huge cuts in social funding, made by the current U.S. administration, are well justified as "too many parasites sponged upon the social security benefits" (*America*, Philadelphia, January 30, 1981). The Ukrainian nationalists, playing into the hands of Big Business, call labor's social gains, wrestled out in class battles in the postwar years, "the curse of America," and want the U.S. administration to continue infringing on human rights.

In an attempt to substantiate these "calls," the nationalist publications insist that social security benefits "neutralize personal ambitions, kill the instinct to procure, the instinct to struggle." That is why, they conclude, there is every reason to abandon all the social programs; moreover, it is a necessary thing to do. "Washington does not have to play nursemaid to each of the unemployed," the Bandera-faction *Shlyakh Peremohi* said cynically on May 23, 1982. The nationalists took to the U.S. administration plans to continue making cuts in pension funds, to extend the retirement age, to deprive children completely of any social aid. They fully support the plan to reduce the food stamps benefits for citizens in 60 to 64 age bracket and stop proving federal food aid to orphans, homes for mentally retarded children

and other child-care centers. At the same time the nationalists like to demagogically repeat that accusations thrown at Washington for conducting anti-democratic policies "are groundless."

At the same time the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists insist, following the line of neoconservatives, that American labor "must voluntarily" agree to have their living standards lowered, for where will the billions of dollars needed for military preparations otherwise come from? The "Soviet threat" is freely used to adorn such statements. The reactionary immigrant press call upon labor "to work for smaller wages," "not to put forward economic demands." "Concessions from organized labor are absolutely necessary," proclaim the nationalists. Commenting the introduction of new anti-labor measures in the U.S.A. and supression of labor unions, the *Shlyakh Peremohi* said with satisfaction: "Labor unions have recently had their wings clipped somewhat, and getting a job has become a privilege for an American laborer" (June 12, 1983).

The counterrevolutionary immigrant groups consider it necessary to continue to use the most severe methods of class terror, "disregarding the opposition of liberals" (*Ukrainsky Visti*, May 20—27, 1984). The OUN expresses its "indignation" over the fact that an American laborer regards his employer as an exploiter (*Ukrainsky Visti*, April 25, 1982). The nationalists advise the employers to increase their pressure on labor's rights, to make labor surrender their social gains. These calls are further evidence that the nature of the Ukrainian bour-

geois nationalism is to be apologetic of big business class extremism.

It should be noted in passing that the leaders of the nationalist immigration groups, many of whom belong to the well-to-do strata of the Ukrainian ethnics residing in the West, like to speak about the necessity of "national solidarity" and "corporative" feelings in relations between capitalist employers and labor, and yet, at the same time they are among the most enterprising employers. Even the reactionary *Noviy Shlyakh* had to admit that the nationalistically-minded industrialists and businessmen of Ukrainian descent (who, incidentally, are the main suppliers of people to the ranks of the nationalist counterrevolution) were matchless in using their class advantages. They, without any scruples whatsoever, keep their workers underpaid, deny them any social rights, seek to employ the newly-arrived immigrants to the U.S.A. or Canada who will work for much less than local residents. A laborer, wrote the newspaper, in encountering such attitudes, often comes "face to face with the realities of the West. It is... the first bitter experience that is going to form the attitude of the newly-arrived toward Western realities. This experience is all the more bitter since the source of it is a Ukrainian industrialist or manager... And this is not theorizing, nor is it a figment of the imagination. This conclusion comes from observation" (*Noviy Shlyakh*, November 17, 1984). Thus, it is not surprising the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists applaud the crudest methods of monopolistic class suppression of labor.

In this respect the OUN attitudes to the

current U.S. administration is also revealing. As long ago as 1976, shortly after the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation which was a major step in the relaxation of international tensions, the *Svoboda* newspaper, expressing the views of a handful of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, wrote: "We, U.S. citizens of Ukrainian descent, would like to see a president elected who would be negatively disposed to, or at least would have reservations about, the policy of detente, a politician who would not be intimidated by accusations that the U.S.A. interfered into the internal affairs of the U.S.S.R." (April 16, 1976). James Carter, and even to a greater extent Ronald Reagan, were the presidents the nationalist leaders had wanted. So, it is no wonder that the nationalist-run media took such an active part in the 1984 campaign to have Reagan reelected for a second term.

The anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism in the Republican platform were, as always before, a major aspect in the nationalist reelect-the-president propaganda campaign. Calling upon the Ukrainian Americans to vote for Republican, OUN emphasized the firm anti-Communist stand of the Republican candidates. According to the nationalist pseudo-patriots, "struggle against Communism in Afghanistan or in South America is a struggle for the mighty and free America" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, June 17, 1984). Hence, "Voters in America, regardless of their party affiliation, should be thankful for having a chance to reelect such a patriotic president" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, May 6, 1984).

The OUN propaganda particularly emphasized that Reagan "advocates 'the moral regen-

eration' of American society and it is worth seeing him in the capacity of U.S. president for the next four years" (*Svoboda*, March 16, 1984). Such statements were prompted, no doubt, by the sharp upswing of chauvinistic tendencies in the U.S.A. which had become so pronounced during Ronald Reagan's first term.

The leaders of the nationalist organizations insistently urged Ukrainian Americans to consider it their duty to cast their ballots for the Republican candidates. They hoped that the U.S. administration, with Reagan reelected, would further aggravate international tensions or even push the world into a nuclear holocaust. Through the entire 1984 election campaign, the OUN propaganda made it a point to repeat: "The worse the relations are with Moscow, the more secure is the situation for the free world" (*Homin Ukrayini*, May 16, 1984).

The Republican administration was quick to show its gratitude: its nationalist puppets received greater financial support and were allowed occasionally to take part in anti-Soviet actions of the White House. Nationalists who excelled themselves in provocations against the Soviet Union and in the extremist activities within the framework of reactionary policies at home and abroad, were promoted to important government posts. L. Dobryansky, for example, very active in anti-Soviet activities, a career agent of the U.S. secret services and a leader of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) for many years, was appointed U.S. Ambassador to the Bahamas. Bandera follower B. Futey who headed the UCCA section in Cleveland, Ohio, was made head of a Federal

commission dealing with grievances of Americans against foreign states. His close associate Yu. Nesterchuk became the USIA Deputy Director. At the close of 1984 Ronald Reagan visited the Cultural Center in Detroit where, addressing the Ukrainian nationalist audience, he said that they (nationalists) were a better embodiment than anyone else of the American Dream (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, November 11, 1984). He pharisaically "grieved" the fate of the Ukraine and encouraged them in unequivocal terms to take even a more active part in provocations against it (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, February 3, 1985). *Shlyakh Peremohi* on November 4, 1984 wrote gleefully: "Never before have there been so many Ukrainians (bourgeois nationalists, of course — *Authors*) involved in state politics in Washington... as there are now."

Nevertheless, it would be naive to think that the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists enjoy special favor with President Reagan. He made similar statements about the Cuban gusanos, Nicaraguan contras, Afghan bandits. Addressing Congress in support of U.S. aid to the Somoza cutthroats (asking for 100 million dollars in aid), Ronald Reagan went as far as to say: "I'm a contra, too!" At the same time — and it is very symptomatic — such statements from the head of a superpower show how much the entire Western political system has deteriorated, how corrupt the entire Western political morals have become. The American Dream has come to be associated with downright criminals, with those who took part in genocide against their own people, with political corpses galvanized into action only in order to have them engaged

in anti-Communist activities. The militant anti-Communism is forced to resort to the help of such professional executioners, saboteurs and agents provocateurs at an ever-growing scale.

Despite the fact that in our day and age, humankind has only one alternative to total destruction in a nuclear war — to return to a course of relaxing tensions, to take measures to eliminate nuclear armaments, to move towards peaceful coexistence of states with different social and economic systems — the right wing of the U.S. monopolistic bourgeoisie still regards the aggravation of international tensions as justification for increased military expenditures, for interference into internal affairs, for assaults on the interests and rights of American labor. Among the most militant supporters of such a course one finds the immigrant groups of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

The nationalist supporters of war-mongering admit with dismay that the comprehensive Soviet peace proposals "today... are being considered by quite a few West European politicians, and also by many American politicians" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, June 23, 1985). Even such a clear and unambiguous Soviet initiative as the plan to eliminate all the nuclear weapons by the year 2000 which was put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986, the nationalists called "a propagandistic stunt..., aimed at bringing to naught all American efforts in developing space... weapons" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, February 2, 1986). "A considerable part of European intellectuals are pleased that the intellectual world is cursing America in the vilest

language," said the OUN *Shlyakh Peremohi* with dismay (December 15, 1985).

The increased activity of the agencies of repression, and of special departments, the atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance to any dissident thinking or behavior are notable features of today's political life in the U.S.A., which is likened to the infamous period in U.S. history known as McCarthyism.

Security clearance has been reintroduced for employees of some departments and offices. A number of federal agencies have been compiling "black lists" of "unreliables." According to the *International Herald Tribune* (February 16, 1984), the USIA directorship put those who had "much too liberal outlooks" on such a list, and they consequently could not do broadcasts for foreign countries. Gary Hart, a presidential contender in the last election, was also called "unreliable" by the right-wingers.

The secret *Rex-1984* project has plans for developing and setting up ten concentration camps designed to hold 200,000 people convicted of "plotting against the government and other subversive activities." Incidentally, the Washington administration considers participants of anti-war movements as "subversives." In recent years hundreds were brought before the court and dozens of activists were thrown into prison in various parts of the country.

It is well to remind the reader here that during 1945—1955, some 13.5 million Americans had their loyalty reviewed — one-fifth of the then U.S. working population. It was at that time that the FBI set up its files of fingerprints of several million Federal employees, and com-

piled dossiers on 26,000 persons who whould have to be arrested immediately in case of national emergency. The CIA put 1.5 million people on its own black lists. The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activity found 624 public organizations to be of "subversive character" which led to the massive harrassment of its members.

Marie-France Toinet from the French National Foundation of Political Sciences wrote in her book *La Chasse aux Sorcieres* (Witch Hunt), published in Brussels in 1984, that McCarthyism aimed at breaking dissenters intellectually, at turning Communists and Communist sympathizers, and progressively-minded people in general, into "internal emigrants," at striking them out from the life of society, at taking away all their rights. Moreover, M.-F. Toinet went on to say, according to McCarthyist philosophy, all subversive ideas must be stamped out, and any criticism of the United States must be regarded as heresy.

Those in power today in the U.S.A. proceed from the same premise. One has the impression, wrote M.-F. Toinet, that attempts to politically control any manifestations of dissent is a constant concern of U.S. leaders. There are good grounds for such a conclusion. Budget appropriations for the FBI for 1987 were in excess of 1.2 billion dollars. The spirit of McCarthyism was very acutely felt at the Republican Party Convention in Dallas in 1984. When, in his address to the Convention, Barry Goldwater said that extremism for the sake of freedom was not a sin, his words were greeted with an ovation. Shortly before the convention, the Heritage

Foundation, the "brain trust" of the rightists, called upon the U.S. administration to regard dissent as anti-American. The influential American Union of Defense of Civil Liberties stated in its report on civil liberties in Reagan's America that at present the very constitutional system of the United States was in jeopardy, and the threat was coming from the highest ruling circles and not from a handful of extremists. A long-time CIA official R. McGehe holds similar views. In his account of the anti-democratic, global tendencies in the covert operations of the U.S. secret services, he wrote in the September 1984 issue of *Harper's Magazine* that the U.S.A. could not continue to suppress freedom all over the world with secret operations without stamping it out at home too.

In 1962, U.S. political analyst I. Snall wrote in his book *The American Ultras*, that Joseph McCarthy had his followers but did not have an organization which would encourage his followers to take action; a distinctive feature of the rightist movement at the moment was the setting up of multi-purpose organizations having close links with the military-industrial complex and political circles. Though it was said more than 20 years ago, it remains true today. As has been already mentioned, neo-conservatives have steeped up their coordinating and lobbying activities, extending their backing to overtly anti-democratic political groups.

During the period of McCarthyism in the United States, the "freest' country of the Western world, freedoms of expression, of congregation, of association and of petition were curbed. Progressive organizations were subjected to con-

tinuous harrassment; anti-war movement and the promotion of peace were regarded as a criminal offense.

At present, when the peace movement is getting broad U.S. public support, with many Americans of Ukrainian descent included, the U.S. administration is again resorting to the overtly McCarthy-style methods in trying to stop the spread of truthful information, and to distract the U.S. public from their growing concern about the threat of nuclear war.

Proclaiming "the world crusade for freedom," the U.S. administration has, at the same time, drastically curbed the rights of U.S. citizens at home. Writing in the *International Herald Tribune* in June 1, 1982 issue, U. S. journalist T. Wicker said that there was nothing less real than freedom in a militarized state, obsessed with the idea of war, and ready for self-destruction for the sake of establishing its rule over the ruins of the world. It is safe to say that the majority of American people hold similar views.

The military-industrial complex and the Pentagon, its representative, are doing all they can to bar any further attempts to stop the arms race. Other militaristic and reactionary powers in the world of capital also contribute to the effort. The repressive apparatus of the United States, and of some other imperialist powers deal with participants of the anti-war movement as though they were hoodlums or downright criminals. For example, several of the women picketing the U.S. military base in Greenham-Common, England, were thrown into prison; scores of prisoners have been put in U.S. fed-

eral penitentiaries for taking part in anti-war demonstrations.

Anti-Communist "crusaders" from extreme-right groups, and among them — functionaries of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organizations, are actively involved in the campaign of harrassment of participants of the anti-war movement. The bourgeois nationalists, in their capacity of professional anti-Communists, and having to work off the money they receive for discrediting the peace movement, accuse the Soviet Union of directing and financing this movement, the way they did it during the McCarthy era. They claim, provocations as usual on their minds, that the Communist parties in the West who take active part in the anti-war movement, "are subversive bases of Moscow, receiving millions of dollars for their activities." The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists associate the initiating of peaceful demonstrations, protests against the militarization of space with the work of these "subversive bases." They insist that the struggle of millions of people for peace is one of the ways in the psychological warfare that the U.S.S.R. is purportedly waging against the West.

These provocative moves the retrograde nationalists accompany with the traditional apologies of the course pursued by the world's reaction and aimed at unleashing nuclear war. The Bandera-faction *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* (n. 3, 1982) howls: "In the final count, war in which nuclear weapons will be used is the logical conclusion of the conventional type of conducting warfare which is fast becoming anachronistic." The OUN publication *Ukrainsky Visti*

(Detroit, February 12, 1984) calls the current U.S. administration's Star Wars initiatives "the most significant aspect of the space program since it had been started." Calling the SDI "the guarantee of liberation struggle," another of the Bandera-faction publications *Homin Ukrayini* (January 22, 1986) urged the U.S.A. and its allies to start the implementation of the SDI which would totally destabilize the situation. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, in their apologetic backing of the most terrible means of mass destruction, perversely try to use even such a tragic event as the Challenger disaster in which seven U.S. astronauts died, for their vile purposes. "It should be hoped that the American people with President Reagan at the head, paying last respects to the perished heroes of space exploration, will not only continue to implement the plans of conquest of space but will even intensify them," said obsequiously *Homin Ukraini* in its February 3, 1984 issue.

The OUN "pledged to support to the best of their ability all the measures of the NATO countries, and of the U.S. government in particular, which are directed at increasing the defensive might," said *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* in 1984 (n. 4).

The nationalist "radicals" are sounding the alarm, mortally fearing lest the anti-war movement in the U.S.A. make the U.S. administration grow soft on the Soviet peaceful initiatives. Recalling the methods which were used by the Nazis — whom the nationalists faithfully served — to suppress dissent, the nationalists propose, without reservation, to resort to "the emergency laws of wartime, including capital pun-

ishment" in dealing with peace champions, putting the arrested pacifists in front of firing squads or into concentration camps. Such statements, like hardly anything else, reveal the pro-fascist nature of the nationalists with a great clarity.

At the time of McCarthyism, the main instruments in the "witch hunts" (i. e. repressions against, and harrassment of, thousands of progressive-minded Americans charged with un-American activities) were, even according to the official sources, the U.S. secret services. Their lawless and anti-Communist acts are public knowledge now. The FBI harrassed the Communist party of the U.S.A., and later the Afro-American and student organizations. Similarly, the CIA committed its crimes in the Dominican Republic, Chile, Iran, El Salvador, Nicaragua. U.S. political analyst R. McGehe (mentioned earlier) wrote in the September 1984 issue of *Harper's Magazine* that the secret CIA operations, regardless of whether they were of a military nature or not, were aimed at destroying democracy in the whole world. All things considered, it was such policy that prepared the ground for McCarthyism. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, incidentally, continue to keep the notorious anti-Communist Senator in high esteem. "The conservatives of America (the nationalists included, of course — *Authors*) continue to regard Senator McCarthy as their hero," wrote *Svoboda* on May 6, 1983.

Much time has elapsed since the waning of McCarthyism which was thoroughly discredited in the eyes of Americans, and it would be difficult now to use the methods practiced by the

notorious Senator. But this does not at all mean that the most reactionary circles which enjoy full support from ruling quarters, have abandoned McCarthyist goals. It was during Carter's presidency that certain restrictions of the activities of the U.S. secret servicies had been lifted. Ronald Reagan has taken further steps in this direction. V. Navasky, Editor-in-Chief of the New York liberal magazine *Nation* wrote that now the government itself is the main tool of repression, thus making the FBI secret operations legal rather than just justifying them.

In 1986, budget appropriations for intelligence activities in the current fiscal year were passed in Washington. According to the latest U.S. reports, about 24 billion dollars have been appropriated for such activities. The CIA is to get over 2 billion dollars (other reports suggest that the sum is 3 billion dollars plus 7 billion more through secret channels). The *New York Times* reports that during Reagan's presidency, CIA operations abroad have grown fivefold. The CIA staff has increased twofold in the last five years.

Speaking of the thoroughly planned anti-democratic activities of the U.S. secret services, one cannot help mentioning subversive radio stations operating under their control. These stations are undergoing modernization, plans for new stations are being developed. The subversive propaganda center "Radio Svoboda-Radio Free Europe" is to get 125 million dollars in budget appropriations in the current fiscal year; the USIA is to receive 887.9 million dollars. The stations, their nationalist departments in particular, were advised to continue

broadcasting in the spirit of the most primitive anti-Communism and to follow instructions from the White House closely; the stations should hire the arch-extremists, including extreme-right functionaries from the immigrant organizations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

The broad public is duly concerned about reports of new appropriations for the U.S. secret agencies whose activities are directed at destabilizing the situation in the world, at initiating subversion and sabotage. Lifting all restraints on activities of the "cloak and dagger" agencies goes contrary to the hopes and aspirations of peoples who want to see a more responsible attitude from U.S. leaders towards their own actions and decisions, and evokes protest from all who promote the cause of peace and security of nations.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists show feelings of quite a different nature. They are overjoyed over the fact that "Ronald Reagan renewed the prerogatives and prestige of the CIA" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, May 4, 1982). "The Nicaraguan ports both on the Pacific and the Atlantic coasts have been mined by U.S. secret agents... Several ships have already hit these underwater mines," gleefully noted *Homin Ukrayini* of the Bandera faction (May 30, 1984). The OUN gets very "indignant" when U.S. Congress engages in lengthy deliberations over the appropriations of large sums for subversive activities of "the CIA foreign political intelligence" (*Svoboda,* June 22, 1983). They viciously denounce those who publicly, through the press, compare the methods used by the CIA and the FBI to those of the Nazi Gestapo.

The nationalists' interest in the affairs of the secret services and their legal status can be easily explained. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have always seen the only chance of survival for their organizations in serving the imperialist special agencies. Most of the nationalist groups are serving these agencies both secretely and openly. Subversion, informing against others, taking part in fabricating misinformation are the main items of their "cooperation" with the repressive apparatus of imperialism.

The OUN members have been well trained in this as they have always been on the payroll of the agencies and departments for which the use of informers and misinformation are the major elements in work. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have become real professionals in these matters thanks to their pre-war and war experience of providing services for the special agencies of bourgeois Poland, profascist Rumania, Nazi Germany, betraying Soviet patriots by turning them over to the Gestapo and, in post-war years, taking part in the subversive actions of the FBI and other imperialist special agencies. Even such a reactionary newspaper as *Svoboda*, in analysing why the figure of a fink has become so typical of the nationalist organizations, was compelled to admit: "Informing is a manifestation of the hidden, hypocritical rage of an obedient and seemingly loyal slave who does not have a respect for, or the feeling of, national honor in the smallest degree, but instead has blind, destructive malice, envy and animosity. How else could one explain that there are so many finks

among our compatriots (i. e. former Nazi collaborators — *Authors*) who lived in the displaced-persons camps and who now live in America" (January 28, 1982). V. Moroz, notorious for his flagrant anti-Sovietism for which he was thrown out of the Soviet Union, spoke to the same effect in his writings. Characterizing the 6th so-called Great Convention of the Bandera-faction OUN, he wrote that "those Western special services which wanted to find out more about the convention received the information they wanted (from the 'revolutionaries' who, in some cases, have 'contacts' with several secret service branches at the same time)" (*Anabasis*, January-March, 1982).

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are stepping up their provocations against the forces of peace and progress as they must render services for money received from the repressive organs of imperialism which are in fact the main tools of preserving the dictatorship of monopolies in its present forms.

Ya. Stetsko, in the worst traditions of McCarthyism, wrote in *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* (1982): "Communists are to be found not only in the Kremlin, but in Bonn too. And in Paris! And elsewhere! They are to be found among the ecumenists of the Catholic church and in the World Council of Churches!" The nationalist agents of the imperialist secret services claim that now "there are more than two thousand liberal organizations in the U.S.A., not necessarily Communist, which are working to destabilize the U.S.A. from within. The people have been made accustomed to laziness... and they have been conditioned to living at the expense

of the state" [*Ukrayinske Narodne Slovo* (Ukrainian People's Word), Chicago, March 31, 1982]. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists express the opinion of all American rightists when they call for unlimited rights to be granted to the FBI, for expanding the network of private extreme-right organizations which, as the nationalists are convinced, "must step up their vigilance and closely watch the behavior of Communists the world over."

Fearing lest the truth about Soviet reality become common knowledge, the nationalists urge the U.S. government to prevent U.S. citizens who have visited the Soviet Union from expressing their unbiased impressions in the media about their travels, from dismissing the insinuations of the dissidents and the entire anti-Soviet camp as mere myths. The nationalist followers of the propaganda methods of McCarthy and Goebbels suggest putting those who nevertheless dare to continue to speak truth on "the list of undesirables" as the American "patriots" delicately call certain individuals. Even U.S. Congressmen are not exempt from the OUN vicious attacks: the nationalists called those of the Congressmen who voiced their disagreement with the interventionist policy of the White House in Nicaragua "traitors," and urged Americans "not to cast their ballots for them at the Congressional elections" (*Ukrayinske Zhyttya*, July 1, 1984). The nationalist pseudo-patriots view with suspicion even such pillars of bourgeois propaganda as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. Without any doubts whatsoever, they assert that "students, scientists, journalists, diplomats and others are very often

spies for the Soviet Union," (*Svoboda*, December 29, 1981) that is, all those who are in disagreement to a lesser or greater extent with the policies of the right wing of the monopolistic bourgeoisie.

The imperialist circles use the nationalist "superpatriots" for brainwashing of the general public with the aim of fostering chauvinism and racism. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists express their regret over the fact that the prevailing majority of Ukrainian ethnics do not support the nationalists' activities which are hostile to the interests of the people. Some time ago the nationalists "protested" against the decision taken in a number or states to take measures against the discrimination of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Indians, saying that such discrimination was in the interests of the Ukrainian ethnics living in the U.S.A. They even expressed their "concern" over "the dramatic increase of Blacks in Washington." According to the OUN, the U.S.A. has racially and culturally "much too great a variety in population for all to have equal rights and be well off" (*Meta,* November, 1981). Such attitudes reveal the desire to put the Ukrainian ethnics in opposition to other ethnic minorities, to breed hostility among them towards each other, to undermine their class unity. The nationalist pharisees went so far as to say: "The slogan 'Workers of the World, Unite!' has done the workers' movement great harm" (*Svoboda*, September 15, 1980).

The class hostility of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists towards the interests of the working people of the Ukrainian descent living in the West, their desire to keep the spirit of

McCarthyism alive, are revealed in their constant attempts to disrupt the cultural relations of the Ukrainian ethnics abroad with Soviet Ukraine, the land of their forefathers. The OUN members are forced to admit the futility of their attempts to hide the actual truth about Soviet life, yet, at the same time, they insist that "the 'independent' unity of the diaspora (the term used by the nationalists to describe Ukrainian ethnics living outside the Ukraine in various countries of the world — *Authors*) will continue, despite all possible obstacles, to stand in opposiston" to cultural exchange (*Ukrayinske Narodne Slovo*, January 28, 1982).

The thing that worries the nationalists most is the fact that, in the words of a nationalist author, "quite a few of our students from America visited the Ukraine. Often enough they go there critically and skeptically inclined... But many of them return fascinated... They have been captivated not only by the beauty of the Ukrainian land but by the cordiality, warmth, benevolence in relations among people," that is by the set of relations that has evolved in the new community of people — the Soviet people. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists realize that these impressions shared publicly after visits to the Soviet Union, contribute to deepening the processes of disintegration within the nationalist camp. They are dismayed by the fact that most of the Ukrainian ethnics abroad having visited the Ukraine, refuse to listen to nationalistic propaganda which is still harping on the tune of Ukrainian "independence"; the nationalists also lament the growing difficulty of swindling money from the Ukrainian ethnics

for the mythical "Ukrainian" — nationalist, that is — cause.

Now, a few words about provocations with the help of which the OUN tries to prevent the Ukrainian ethnics from attending concerts of visiting Soviet artists, from meeting visiting Soviet delegations. And here they fall in line again with the moth-eaten traditions of McCarthyism. For example, the concerts of the popular Soviet Ukrainian rock band Chervona Ruta in Canada were called by the nationalists "a demoralizing operation" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, October 30, 1983). The nationalists described the visit to North America of Ukrainian poet Vitaliy Korotych in similar terms (*Ukrayinske Narodne Slovo*, April 15, 1982). They explained their demands to prevent Soviet artists from performing in the West: "The so-called cultural and artistic groups that Moscow dispatches to the free world with concerts, impress many Americans and many others in the Western world with their artistic excellence. This, in its turn, breeds doubts among the American people as to whether Communism is, in the final count, such an evil it is claimed to be if it is capable of generating such wonderful artistic performances and such wonderful actors." Hardly any comment is needed here.

U.S. propaganda casts aspersions on the Soviet home policy, making use of the Soviet "dissidents." A number of political analysts have noted that the current anti-Soviet propaganda stunts are closely related to the policy pursued now by Washington, and are aimed at damping the vast interest evoked by the Soviet initiatives on issues of disarmament and the elimina-

tion of nuclear weapons. The CIA has been issuing special publications, for the use by various governmental departments, agencies and mass media, of tendentiously selected materials about life in the Soviet Union and about the Soviet peace proposals.

This provocative propagandistic campaign is marked by the special attention being paid to the issues of the alleged violations of "national rights" in the socialist countries. The *Washington Post* (July 9, 1985) said, for example, that the CIA showed a growing interest in staging subversive acts in the non-Russian Republics of the U.S.S.R., in the Ukrainian S.S.R. in particular. According to the same newspaper (July 17, 1981), the term "enslaved nations" was applied by officials of the current administration with increasing frequency to the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. One of the leading ideologists of neo-conservatism Richard Pipes openly stated that the main emphasis in subversive actions against the Soviet Union was being shifted to "the defense of human rights."

Once more introducing the long discredited propagandistic claim that the Soviet Union had been formed through the use of force and that the non-Russian nationalities living within its borders were 'oppressed,' the U.S. president makes provocative statements about the tragic deterioration of the human rights situation in the Soviet Union (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh*, n. 1, 1985).

The counterrevolutionary immigrant groups, functionaries of the immigrant groups of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists included, are given a considerable role within the framework

of this propaganda campaign. The fact of representatives of the highest echelons in the U.S. administration, the president included, maintaining contacts with the OUN, Ronald Reagan's messages to the nationalists issued in connection with nationalists' "conventions" and "jubilees" are good evidence of this.

The one thing that can't be denied by the Bandera faction and their rivaling factions of the nationalists is the ability to trim their sails to the wind. No sooner had the president updated the strategy of psychological war, than "the king's men" from the ranks of the antiquated but belligerent nationalist "combatants" rushed headlong into battle for "giving the Ukrainians their national rights."

"Our action must be aimed at the disintegration of the U.S.S.R.," trumpeted the *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh*. "We appeal to the free world to develop a modern type of warfare, that is to conduct a psychological, ideological offensive against... Bolshevism, focusing it on the oppressed nations and on the Ukraine" (n. 4, 1985).

In fact, the Bandera followers had already had war "focused" on the Ukraine when they were serving the Nazis. History remembers what "rights" "the new Nazi order" gave to the Ukrainian people, and how many millions of Ukrainians paid with their lives for the nationalists to serve the Nazis as servile collaborators.

The subversive activities in "the defense of human rights" in the socialist countries have been stepped up by other nationalist organizations: the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU), the Ukrainian Congress Committee

of America (UCCA), the Committee of the Ukrainian Canadians (CUC). With an increasing frequency, they issue urgent "appeals" to the governments of the United States and Canada to directly interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

We have discussed the main constituent parts of the OUN doctrine on "the defense of human rights." This doctrine which has been modified by modern, more sophisticated demagogy and hastily adjusted to the needs of the present stage in the psychological war waged by anti-Communists, continues to be used basically in the same way it was used at the time of the creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (where, incidentally, they still occupy the key posts). Former Nazi collaborators have joined the ranks of Mr. Reagan's "freedom march"; for them "freedom" is associated with the "right" to exercise the rule of capital in its most oppressive forms. The reactionary nature of the counterrevolutionary immigrant groups and groupings, their subversive intentions (like their participation in the provocative campaign in "the defense of human rights" in the socialist countries), can also be traced in the nationalist extremist attitudes to the democratic freedoms in the form they exist in the capitalist world, and in their attempts to justify "the most radical" means of preserving the dominance of the monopolistic oligarchy.

The nationalist press which, in general, tries to whitewash the discredited participants of the anti-Communist "crusades," sometimes, in the heat of internal squabbles, gives devastating descriptions of the newly emerged "defenders

of human rights," and of the counterrevolutionary immigrant circles. The *Ukrayinske Zhyttya*, for example, said in its August 1, 1984 issue: "The fact that those who have committed terrible crimes against the Ukrainian people (and we shall add — against the working people of the countries of their present residence — *Authors*) find themselves in the leading positions of our community, shows that we do have anti-democratic habits. Our democracy is the democracy of a clique which tolerates crimes and terror of its own members... It is impossible to go on living alongside murderers."

The social basis of the nationalist counterrevolution is constantly diminishing because of the public's growing awareness that the ideological and practical activities of the immigrant groups of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are conducted according to the directives from the imperialist reaction, and are aimed at ensuring the rule of the financial oligarchy which is hostile both to the Ukrainian ethnics and the populations of the countries where these ethnics live. Besides, the various forms of corruption which is so widely spread among the Ukrainian bourgeois leadership, opens the eyes of the rank-and-file to the true nature of the nationalist "independence-seekers."

A critical analysis of the nationalist press allows one to arrive at a conclusion that only about 1 % of the Ukrainian ethnics residing in the West take part, in varying degrees, in anti-democratic, anti-Soviet actions, sponsored by the special agencies in the capitalist countries. Among them one finds mostly those who are well-to-do, descendants of petty-bourgeois immi-

grants, "professional" functionaries, and a certain number of individuals from the nationalistically minded intellectuals who work for the needs of the OUN.

To gain the prize money for themselves, which, in the final count, comes from the working people, the functionaries of the nationalist organizations are prepared to fulfill the most unsavory jobs in anti-Communist activities. Naturally enough, the number of people of Ukrainian descent not wanting to have anything to do with the nationalist extremists, is growing. The working people of Ukrainian descent, as well as other working people in the Western capitalist countries, pin their hopes for peaceful life on the peaceful foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. Besides, the Ukrainian ethnics abroad view cultural relations with the Soviet Ukraine, despite great opposition to these relations from the nationalist leadership as the only possibility to preserve their national identity living as they do outside the Ukraine. Many of those who had been forced to emigrate in search of a better life before the Soviet power had been established in the Ukraine, come on visits to the Soviet Ukraine, the U.S.S.R. Their children and grandchildren often do the same. Upon their return, they spread the truth about the country that was the first to attain socialism, thus contributing to the development of friendship and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the countries with Ukrainian communities.

The OUN periodicals admit with annoyance that "only a few people take part in actions" of the OUN. The *Ukrayinski Visti* (Detroit, March 31, 1985) wrote: "It is clear to everyone

that things are going to the dogs, but using the tested methods of fraudulence, the leadership continue their existence and by their weight they are pulling the Ukrainian community into the abyss."

The Bandera extremists are held in abomination even by a number of anti-Soviet minded Ukrainian ethnics living in the West. "The 'movement' represented by Stetsko is an echo of the ideologies of totalitarian character which have stormed through, and then faded from history as they become bankrupt but this movement... nevertheless will make itself felt and will continue to remind of itself," said the *Ukrayinski Visti* on January 29, 1984. The *Ukrayinske Zhyttya*, in its January 1, 1985 issue said: The leaders and functionaries dealing in 'independence' are, as Americans would put it, just polluting the air."

Similar things could be said about all other factions of the nationalistic counterrevolution which are constantly losing solid ground under their feet. The *Ukrayinski Visti* admitted (March 31, 1985): "If one takes a close look at our activity, then one can easily discern a distinctive unifying feature which can be described as 'make-believe': make-believe central bodies, make-believe press, make-believe studies, make-believe politics, make-believe science etc, etc... But in reality, it is but a purchase and sale of the Ukrainian people on both sides of the ocean, giving the Ukrainian people voluntarily away into captivity... All these congresses, conventions, freedom foundations of ours are nothing but a means of extortion and enslaving. They are just squabbles that can be likened to

spats of village women. The whole thing is the representation of the Ukrainian community by losers. Each of their utterances smacks of parasitism, self-deception and backwardness."

The declining influence of the nationalist leadership is especially acute among the young people of Ukrainian descent. The OUN leaders have always treated the young people, brought up in the nationalistic spirit, as mere pawns in their dealings with the Western secret services. The *Shlyakh Peremohi* (May 19, 1985) expressed its concern saying: "The thing that worries us most is the break of our young people with Ukrainian (that is nationalist — *Authors*) organizations. Many of our young people, disregarding our efforts, become alienated, assimilated into the local population, and part company... Our youth organizations are decreasing numerically with every passing year; the same process is occurring in our schools conducting Ukrainian studies; the number of young people taking part in the nationalist activities is also decreasing." The nationalists admit publicly that "by our extremism we are driving away the young generation from the Ukrainian communal spirit (that is Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism — *Authors*) rather than attracting them" (*Noviy Shlyakh*, October 8, 1983). Another nationalist periodical, *Ukrayinske Zhyttya*, summed up these admissions with a distinctive note of bitterness: "There is nothing to fight for, there is no reason in trying to triumph over the others. Neither of the factions... are a drop in the ocean" (January 1, 1985).

The leaders of the nationalist organizations

are even more worried by the reluctance of Ukrainian ethnics to give financial support to the OUN. "We have many sources where the money is coming from but the number of those who make donations and payments is steadily decreasing... In a year or two their number will further diminish," said the Bandera-faction *Shlyakh Peremohi* (August 4, 1985) with concern. There was even an intention expressed to make a registry of all Ukrainian ethnics living in the West for the purpose, of course, of extorting money with the help of the tested means of blackmail and threats.

But despite all the maneuvers of the nationalist clique, the decline and fragmentation of the nationalist organizations and groups continue. The OUN in not able not only to stop but even to slow down the process of Ukrainian ethnics breaking with the extreme-right anti-Soviet activity of the nationalist hirelings of Big Business. Even some of the OUN periodicals admit that the nationalist activity is an embodiment of amorality and shamelessness [*Narodna Volya* (People's Freedom), Scranton, September 20, 1982]. The nationalist press lament the fact that in the eyes of the working people "'hotheaded patriots' have made fools of themselves because of their primitive and crude conduct; they have become a disgrace to the name of the Ukrainians (Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists — *Authors*) in the whole world, have besmirched the entire Ukrainian community" (*Ukrayinsky Visti*, February 7, 1982).

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Imperialism continues to support all the reactionary regimes, all the counterrevolutionary forces in the world, picking mercenaries for its "crusades" at the dustbins of history. Without its support, the anti-Communist extremism, the nationalist immigrant counterrevolution including, would have long ceased to exist. Western secret services actively use nationalist agents to carry out propaganda and subversive acts against the Soviet Union, and attach a growing importance to their reactionary activity inside the countries of their residence. The nationalist organizations of all political shades belong to such extremist groups which imperialism has always considered to be among the main means to uphold the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to harass progressive forces, to fan chauvinism and to preserve racist attitudes in the Western countries.

Thus, one finds the major cause for further degradation, decay and deterioration of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists to lie in the absolute incompatibility of their misanthropic ideology and anti-democratic activity with the basic values and hopes of humanity. No wonder, it is getting increasingly more difficult to enlist new recruits for the nationalists' suicide mission.

ПОДПЕВАЛЫ «БАТАЛЬОНА САМОУБИЙЦ»

Сборник публицистических очерков

Перевод с украинского *А. Н. Панасьева*

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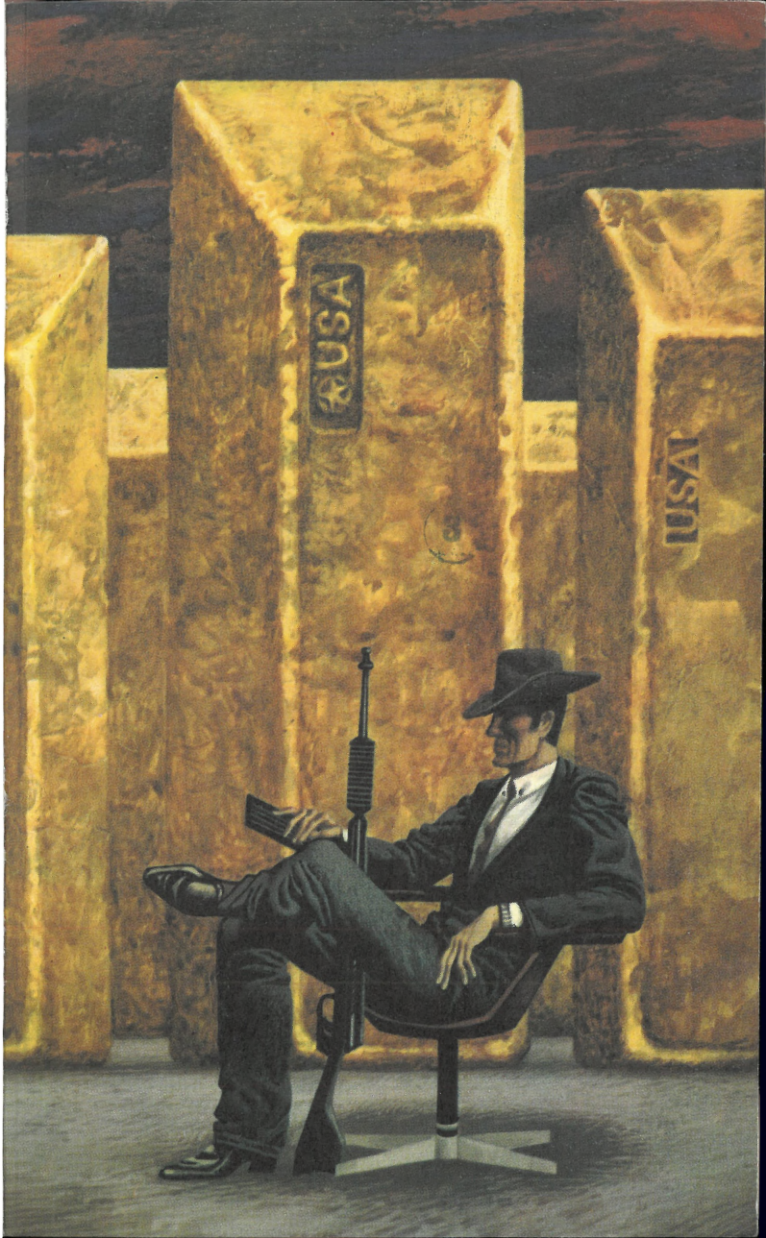
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